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BEHOLD THE LAMB OF GOD!

Our frontispiece is a facsimile of a large poster prepared by Mr. George K. Harris of the China Inland Mission for use among the Moslem peoples of China. It is entitled: "Christ the Lamb of God." The four sections symbolize the heart of man, cleansed by the blood of Christ, and made fit for entrance into glory. The inscriptions in Arabic and Chinese are Scripture texts: "The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked." "Behold the Lamb of God." "In whom we have redemption through His Blood." "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow." "The city is of pure gold . . . . and there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth . . . . but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life." The poster in its larger form has been effectively used in gospel halls, on city walls, and in Chinese inns throughout Northwest and Central China. A missionary writes: "In another home, the man who invited us in was very pleased that I had with me copies of the large Arabic poster about Jesus the Lamb of God. A year ago his home had been gutted by fire and a similar poster burned on the wall. He had hoped to get another, but did not know where or how. They invited us to come again." But is this kind of pictorial representation of the heart of the Christian message wise and legitimate? Is it a psychological approach to the Moslem mind? Has the doctrine of the atonement through blood any parallel in Islam?

To begin with, the central festival in the Islamic calendar is *'Id-al-Adha,* the feast of sacrifice. It was instituted by Mohammed himself, and there is a remarkable tradition related by 'Aisha that the Prophet said: "Man hath not done anything on the *'Id-al-Adha* more pleasing to God than spilling blood; for verily the animal sacrificed will come, on the day of resurrection, with its horns, its hair, and its hoofs, and will make the scale of his (good) actions heavy. Verily its blood reacheth the acceptance of God, before it falleth upon the ground, therefore be joyful in it." (*Mishkāt,* book iv, ch. xlii, sec. 2). The institution of the sacrifice came shortly after the change of the *qibla* from Jerusalem to Mecca, in the second year of the Hegira.

The Koran injunction is found in Surah xxii: 33-38:

"This *do.* And they who respect the symbols of God, *perform an action* which proceeded from piety of heart. Ye may obtain advantages from the *cattle* up to the set time *for slaying them;* then, the place for sacrificing them is at the ancient House."

"By no means can their flesh reach unto God, neither their blood; but piety on your part reacheth Him. Thus hath He subjected them to you, that ye might magnify God for His guidance: moreover, announce glad tidings to those who do good deeds."—Sale's translation.

Dr. M. S. Nawaz Khan of Zanzibar, writing in the *Muslim Review,* (Lucknow, March, 1934) on the True Conception of Sacrifice in Islam says:

"Since the day of 'Id-al-Adha is approaching near, it would be of interest to those who contemplate offering a sacrifice on that day, to know the true conception, significance and philosophy of sacrifice in Islam. To a casual observer, devoid of spiritual eyes, this practice appears a mere rite, but it is in fact based on very sound psychological principles. Slaughter of an animal, as I have said before, is in symbolic language a declaration on the part of the person offering it, that just as he has slaughtered and thus sacrificed the life of an animal which is inferior to him, similarly he is prepared to cheerfully sacrifice his life when called upon to do so, for the sake of motives more precious than his own existence, *viz.,* Establishing God's Unity, Propagation of Truth, and Restoring peace and freedom of conscience in the world."

Although there is nothing in the Koran to connect the

sacrifice of *'Id-al-Adha* with the history of Ishmael, the father of the Arabs, yet it is generally held that the feast commemorates the willingness of Abraham to sacrifice his son (Ishmael) at God's command. To this Old Testament story there is a remarkable reference in Surah 37:103-107: "When Abraham had laid his son prostrate on his face we cried unto him . . . . and we ransomed him with a noble victim." The idea of a vicarious offering is here clearly recognized as belonging to the religion of Abraham.

Another startling parallel to the Christian and Jewish doctrine of atonement by blood is the *'aqiqah* ceremony, observed by every Moslem household throughout most Moslem lands after the birth of a child, and concerning which the Traditions are so full. [1] According to Moslem religious law, this expiatory sacrifice is made on the seventh day; it is commendable on that occasion to give the child its name, shave off the hair on its head, make an offering to the poor, and kill a victim. According to some authorities, if the offering of the *'aqiqah* has been neglected on the seventh day by the parents, it can be done afterwards by the child himself when he has become of age. We have elsewhere pointed out the large place of the *'aqiqah* sacrifice in Moslem tradition and present-day practice from Morocco to China. [2]

That Moslems themselves once recognized the vicarious character of this sacrifice and its deeper significance of atonement, is perfectly evident from the prayer used on this occasion. In one of the books of devotion published in Hindustani and printed at Calcutta, this prayer, (undoubtedly based on Tradition), reads as follows:

"O God, this is the *'aqiqah* sacrifice of my son so-and-so; its blood for his blood, its flesh for his flesh, its bone for his bone, its skin for his skin, its hair for his hair. O God! make it a redemption for my son from the Fire, for truly I have turned my face to Him

[1] Cf. Wensinck's, "A Handbook of Early Muhammedan Tradition," pp. 14-15, where he lists over forty references.

[2] Zwemer, "The Influence of Animism on Islam," pp. 86-106. Cf. the article on *'Aqiqa* in the Encyclopedia of Islam by Juynbol.

who created the heavens and the earth, a true believer. And I am not of those who associate partners with God. Truly my prayer and my offering, my life and my death is to God, the Lord of the worlds, who has no partner, and thus I am commanded, and I belong to the Moslems." [3]

It is the fashion of liberal theology today in Islam as well as in Judaism and in Christianity to explain away the idea of expiation and atonement. The altar with its blood-sacrifice is as great a stumbling-block to such thinkers as is the Cross of Christ. But the altar and the Cross remain central and dominant in the soteriology of the Bible. Remarkable testimony to this fact is given by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah in his recent book, "Lights of Asia." This study in comparative religion is reviewed in the present issue of our Quarterly. Syed Ikbal states in the preface that he is a Moslem and "does not subscribe to the doctrines of the other three religions," yet he writes (pp. 74, 75):

"The Cross is the centre of all revelation. Have you ever thought what the Bible would be like without the Cross? Take the Cross out of this book and you won't be able to recognise it. If there be no promise of the Cross in the Old Testament, then its Laws distress me, it is a book of fatalism. If there is no Cross in the New Testament, then it blazes with pitiless splendor. But put the Cross back, and at once the book becomes a Gospel. Its Law becomes *Love,* its shadows flee away, its destiny is the Father's House. No wonder that redeemed souls put the Cross at the centre of their experience. On *that* they rest their confidence. When they go into the conflict they sing: 'Onward, Christian Soldiers.' When in sorrow they sing: 'Simply to Thy Cross I Cling'; and when the chilly waters beat about, and when passing 'through the valley of the shadow of death' (Ps. 23), they sing 'Hold Thou Thy Cross before my closing eyes.' At the Cross my sin is conquered. At the Cross I can say, 'My Lord and my God.' . . . . Education could not do it. Social reform cannot do it. Our beautiful essays and ethical sermons cannot do it. It is Christ upon the Cross who discovers sin, who forgives sin, who conquers sin."

These are words of a Moslem! And still more passionately he writes of the precious blood of Christ (pp. 94, 95):

[3] Another peculiarity of this ancient Semitic rite adopted by Mohammed is the injunction: "Not a bone of the victim should be broken." Ibn Rushdi Al Qartabi's *Fiqh.* Cf. Exodus xii and John xix:36.

"Whatever modernists may think about the Blood, God esteems it very *Precious*. Saith the Word: 'The blood is the life' (Deut. 12:23). 'Without shedding of blood is no remission' (Heb. 9:22). 'It is the *Blood* that maketh atonement for the soul' (Lev. 17:11). 'God commendeth His Love to us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more, then, being now justified by His Blood we shall be saved from Wrath through Him.' What preserved Israel on the night of the slaying of the first-born in Egypt? Blood. 'When I see the blood I will pass over you.' (Ex. 12:13). What maintained Israel in relationship with Jehovah on the day of Atonement? Blood. But, 'Not all the blood of beasts, On Jewish altars slain, Could give the guilty conscience peace, Or wash away the stain.' Believers can add: 'But Christ, the heavenly Lamb, Takes all our sins away; A sacrifice of nobler name, And richer blood, then they.' "

One could ask for no better, no clearer explanation of the Chinese-Arabic poster than these noble words by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. In his volume, from which we have quoted, the Light of the World outshines all the other lights of Asia—Islam, Judaism and Buddhism.

Across the world of Islam many wistful hearts seem to be saying:

"We would see Jesus: other lights are paling,
Which for long years we have rejoiced to see;
The blessings of our pilgrimage are failing;
We would not mourn them, for we go to Thee.

"We would see Jesus: this is all we're needing,
Strength, joy and willingness come with the sight;
We would see Jesus dying, risen, pleading;
Then welcome day, and farewell mortal night."

Princeton, N. J. S. M. ZWEMER.

MUHAMMAD AND PREVIOUS MESSENGERS

We retain the author's spelling of Arabic words.—EDITOR.

Examination of the Traditions regarding Muhammad's Call and of the Visions which he describes in the Qur'ān has told us very little as to the content of the message which he, at the beginning of his mission, felt himself impelled to deliver. We now ask whether from other parts of the Qur'ān we can get any light on that point.

There are a number of passages in which we are explicitly told that he "was commanded" to do something. These are vi:14b, 163; xiii:36b; xxvii:93, 94; xxxix:14; xl:68. Unfortunately, all these passages are fairly late, and cannot be taken as referring to the beginning of his mission. Still, their assertion that that which had come to him by direct command was the worship of Allah alone, is so consistent as to be of some weight.

Another, and perhaps more hopeful, line of approach is to study the accounts of previous messengers given in the Qur'ān. We may assume that Muhammad's purpose in narrating these stories, which occupy considerable space in the Qur'ān, was not purely historical. He did so because they seemed to him to have a bearing on the situation with which he himself was faced, and to contain instruction for the people to whom he was addressing himself. It is natural therefore to assume that he saw in the sending of these messengers something analogous to his own. Further, it is acknowledged by most Western scholars that he sometimes read his own experience back into these stories. It would be going too far to say that he was not concerned with the historical accuracy of the accounts he gave of the messengers. He did in some cases—particularly perhaps that of Moses—try to get at the rights of the story. He

was personally interested in these messengers, because he himself was a messenger of God, and God would no doubt deal with him as He had dealt with them. But if it be true that he saw them reflected in himself, it is also true that he saw himself reflected in them. It is evident from the more or less varying forms which some of these stories assume in the Qur'ān, that he modified them in the telling from time to time, so as to make them apply to the actual position in which he was. He was not trying to amuse his hearers, and was actually wearying them, by telling the same story over and over again. Any preacher will probably use the same story as an illustration a good few times in the course of his pulpit activity, but, if he is keeping himself mentally and spiritually alive, he will probably tell it rather differently each time, to accord with the lessons he wishes to enforce. So Muhammad adapted his stories of previous messengers to the changing situations which the years brought with them.

That, of course, makes the answer to our particular question all the more difficult. For it is possible that he carried on his work for some time before he began to seek for, and to find, analogies in the work of previous messengers. It may even be questioned whether we have, in any *surah* of the Qur'ān, actually the earliest form which these stories assumed in his telling. For he may sometimes have taken an early version of the story and touched it up so as to apply to a later situation. If so, however, early wording may sometimes have survived into comparatively late *surahs*. And there may be constant elements in these stories which tend to show what was his fundamental conception of the mission of a messenger of Allah.

There are some twenty-eight names of previous "prophets" mentioned in the Qur'ān. Of these a number may, for our purpose, be disregarded. Beyond the mention of their names, little information is given about them. In other cases, the information given has no bearing upon their sending as messengers. Thus Job, Jacob, and Zechariah are hardly messengers in our sense. Nor is

Ishmael, though he is conjoined with Abraham in the purifying of the Ka'ba, ii:119. David is given wisdom and lucidity of speech, xxxviii:16f., and is given the Psalms, vii:161, xvii:57. Solomon summons the Queen of Sheba in the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate, xxvii:30. But David and Solomon as conceived in the Qur'ān are hardly messengers. Jonah is an "envoy" and the references to him, x:98; xxi:87; xxxvii:139; lxviii:48, are always based fairly closely on the Biblical story; but we are nowhere told explicitly what was his message. The account of Lot also follows the lines of the story as told in Genesis. He is generally introduced as finding fault with the immorality of his people. Of Luqmān we are told, xxxi:11ff., that he had wisdom bestowed upon him; that he enjoined gratitude to Allah, as being to man's own advantage; that he admonished his son to avoid polytheism, and added a number of moral exhortations.

Jesus appears as a prophet fairly late in the Qur'ān, and the accounts of his mission there given are, from our point of view, disappointing. He called upon the Children of Israel to serve Allah, and warned them against polytheism, v:76. He is taught the Book and Wisdom, the Torah and the Evangel, and sent as a messenger to the Children of Israel, with power to work certain miracles, iii:40; v:109; he is sent with the Evidences, (*bayyināt*), ii:81; xliii:63.

The story of Moses (and Aaron) occupies much more space, and is several times quite fully recounted. A long investigation would be required to determine the earliest form of the Moses-story, and how it grew in Muhammad's hands; but that cannot be undertaken here. The legend of Moses and al-Khidr in *surah* xviii may for our purpose be disregarded. For the rest, the story is founded on the Biblical accounts, with perhaps the addition of Rabbinic material here and there. Moses is called by a vision of Allah, xx:8f.; xxvii:7f. This, of course, is a reproduction [1] of the account in Exodus iii, and we cannot use it as an

[1] This is not to be taken as implying direct borrowing.

indication that Muhammad was similarly called. Moses is then given certain "signs," and sent to Pharaoh and his nobles. In two passages, xxix:38; xl:24f., he is sent to Pharaoh, Haman and Qorah. We then have the contest with the magicians. The plagues are referred to in only one place, vii:130. We then have the passage of the sea, and the drowning of Pharaoh and his hosts. It is relevant to our subject to note that the object of Moses' mission in the Bible story, namely the deliverance of the Children of Israel from Pharaoh's oppression, while it does appear in the story told by Muhammad, vii:103; xxvi:16, occupies quite a subordinate position. Moses is always the messenger of Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, the Lord of the heavens and the earth. The object of his mission is to call Pharaoh and his people to the worship of the One God. In one passage, lxxix:18, it is to get Pharaoh to "purify himself" (by almsgiving), and allow himself to be guided to his Lord. The contest with the magicians is a trial of strength between Allah and the false gods. Pharaoh himself is sometimes regarded as the opposing god, xxviii:38. When defeated, the magicians declare themselves believers in the Lord of Aaron and Moses, xx:73, or in the Lord of the Worlds, xxvi:46; vii:118. The persecution of the people is regarded in vii:129ff., as following upon the conversion of some of them to the religion of Moses; a palpable transference to the Moses-story of Muhammad's own experience in Mecca. The impression one gets from all this is that he regarded Moses as an apostle of monotheism. Only in one passage does the idea of the Last Day, the coming of the Hour, enter into the account of the sending of Moses, xx:15, and there it comes in rather as the sanction of obedience than as part of the content of his commission.

The same result follows from consideration of the accounts given of Abraham. He appears in the Qur'ān in at least three different capacities. He is the precursor of Lot in the story derived from Genesis of the visit of the angels to him before the destruction of Sodom, xi:72f.; xv:81f.; li:24f. In this he hardly plays the part of a

messenger. For a time he becomes Muhammad's prototype, the *hanīf* who is not one of the polytheists, the founder of the Ka'ba and of the religion which Muhammad is to follow. The religion of Abraham which is thus exalted is certainly monotheism; but it is acknowledged by most European scholars that the passages in which Abraham is thus regarded are comparatively late, and in fact date from the second or third year of the *Hijra*. Much earlier than that, however, Abraham appears in the Qur'ān preaching monotheism to his father and his people; xxi:52f; xix:42f.; xxvi:69f.; xxix:13f.; xxxvii:81f.; xliii:25f. The standing introduction to this form of the story is "When he said to his father . . . . ," followed by an attack upon idolatry. This is probably founded upon Jewish sources. In vi:74f., which begins in the same way, we find an account of Abraham's conversion. He was led to worship Allah by consideration of the heavenly bodies. This has not been found worked out in any source prior to Muhammad's time; but there is a passage in Josephus: Antiquities of the Jews, which may very well have suggested it, and the story may well have been current, though it has not come down to us in early written form.[2] We cannot, therefore, take it as simply a reflex of Muhammad's own experience. Still, it is to my mind significant that in the Qur'ān account of Abraham, who ultimately assumed such importance for Muhammad, monotheism and opposition to idolatry should be so prominent. Resurrection, Judgment, and the After-life play hardly any part in it. They appear in the account given in xxvi; not, however, as part of Abraham's message, but as part of a prayer to his Lord.

We come now to the messengers Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Shu'aib. These four are grouped together in *surah* vii:57-77, 83-91, the verb "we sent" having to be supplied before each story from v. 57. The formula is: "(57) We sent Noah to his people . . . . (63) and to Ād their brother Hūd . . . (71) And to Thamūd their brother Ṣāliḥ . . . .

[2] Cf. Sidersky: Les Origines des Légendes Musulmanes; Paris, 1933.

(83) And to Midian their brother Shu'aib . . . ." In each case there follows a summary of the message. The first part is common to all four: "He said: O my people, serve Allah; there is no god for you other than He." In the case of Ṣāliḥ, there is then a reference to the she-camel given as a sign; in that of Shu'aib, an exhortation to give just weight and measure. Noah adds a warning of the coming punishment of a mighty day; but this is probably not a reference to the Last Day which we should have expected to be specialized by the use of the definite article, but to the Flood in which they were afterwards drowned. A similar warning evidently formed part of the messages of the others, but in each case it must have been a warning of a special punishment impending over the people in case of their disobedience; for that is how each story finishes. The story of Lot, which intervenes in vv. 78-82, while it is also the story of the destruction of an unbelieving people, comes in differently. Not only is the monotheistic formula omitted and Lot made simply a censor of morals in accordance with the Biblical story, but the name itself is differently introduced. The story of Moses, which also occurs in the same *surah,* is separated from the others, and is not bound to them by the formula of introduction. We get the impression that the stories of Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and Shu'aib had formed an early framework into which that of Lot has been inserted, and that the story of Moses has been added later.

A similar phenomenon appears in *surah* xi:27-71, 85-98. The same four messengers are introduced in the same way, the stories being again bound together by the necessity of supplying the verb "We sent" from the beginning of the first one. Again, quite evidently, the story of Abraham and Lot has been inserted into this framework between Ṣāliḥ and Shu'aib; and the story of Moses added at the end.

It is not suggested that the actual stories of these four messengers as they occur in these two *surahs* are older than the introduction of the Lot and Moses stories into the

Qur'ān. The story of Noah, for instance, as told in *surah* xi contains elements which are evidently late. But it does appear as if these four messengers had formed an early group, and the groundwork of their stories as there told had belonged to an early period. That the monotheistic character of their mission belonged to that groundwork can hardly be doubted.

It is only less evident in *surah* xxvi, where we have again a series of these stories. First comes the story of Moses, introduced thus: (v. 9) "(Recall) when thy Lord called to Moses." Then in v. 69 the story of Abraham begins: "Recite to them the account of Abraham." In vv. 103-191, we have the group, Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot, Shu'aib, each introduced with the formula: "The people of . . . . counted false the envoys, when their brother . . . . . said to them: 'Will ye not show piety? Lo, I am to you a faithful messenger; so show piety towards Allah and obey me.'" It will be noticed that Lot has now been formally included in the group, while Moses and Abraham are still outside of it. In xxix, we find the series, Noah, (Abraham), Lot, Shu'aib, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Moses. Hūd, and Ṣāliḥ are not mentioned by name, but their peoples are. Abraham is not formally included in the group, but Moses now is. In *surah* xxxvii, we find another series of messengers whose stories are formally bound together, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Aaron, Ilyās, Lot, Jonah. Here however the emphasis is not upon the mission, but upon the deliverance of believers, and the exaltation of the messenger. Other groups and lists of prophets given in the Qur'ān, while probably significant for Muhammad's attitude at various periods, do not interest us here, when we are trying to find what light these stories throw upon his own early activity.

These four messengers Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and Shu'aib, are evidently thought of as apostles of monotheism to their peoples. Once indeed, in *surah* xxix:35, the Last Day is mentioned as included in the initial message. There Shu'aib is made to say: "Serve Allah, and look forward

to the Last Day, and do not work mischief in the land, causing corruption." But if any weight attaches to the formal growth of the group above referred to, the form given in xxix is not the earliest; and that the Last Day did not belong to the earliest form of the story appears from the fact that the punishment of the unbelieving people is not eschatological, but is brought about by an earthquake. Even apart from these considerations, the service of Allah is still the fundamental part of the message.

How far we may use the details given regarding these messengers as reflexes from Muhammad's experience is difficult to determine; for, except in the case of Noah, we have hardly any means of knowing in what form the story existed before his time. That he felt himself at liberty to treat them with some freedom is shown by the case of Ṣāliḥ. In xi:65, we find the little detail added, that he had, before his mission, been one of whom his people had had good hopes. That certainly looks as if it were derived from Muhammad's own life. Again, in xxvii:46ff., we find the story of Ṣāliḥ in an unusual context, and in rather a different form from the usual. He is still the messenger to the Thamūd, but the she-camel which he usually brings as a sign is not mentioned. Instead we have a curiously specific account of a conspiracy against him, vv. 49ff. "Now there was in the town a group of nine, who caused corruption instead of setting things right. They said: 'Swear together; we will fall upon him and his household by night; then we will say to his patron: "We were not present at the destruction of his household; we are assuredly telling the truth." They laid a plot, and we laid a plot without their knowing.' " It is hard to resist the impression that we have here a reference to a plot against Muhammad himself, probably towards the end of his residence in Mecca, when tradition affirms that a plot of this kind was actually laid against him. On the other hand, the miraculous she-camel, which elsewhere is almost always

referred to in connection with Ṣāliḥ, must, one would suppose, have belonged to the story as Muhammad found it.

It is a little difficult to see why the condemnation of unjust weights and measures should be associated with Shu'aib, and Midian. That Muhammad himself did touch on this subject appears from lv:7f., and lxxxiii:1-5. It must, however, be left doubtful whether this is part of Muhammad's own teaching reflected on to another messenger, or whether the invention of the balance was somehow in legend associated with Midian.

The teaching ascribed to Hūd is largely formal, and hardly goes beyond the teaching of monotheism. In xxvi:128f., he touches on the vanity of his people in building; which probably indicates that the towers and ruined structures to be found here and there in Arabia were traditionally associated with the vanished people of 'Ād. There is, however, one element in the teaching of Hūd which is rather unusual. In xi:54f., he is represented as saying: "O my people, ask forgiveness of your Lord and repent towards him, and He will send the heaven upon you in copious rain, and will increase you strength upon strength; turn not away as sinners." The wording of this can hardly be early, but it is curious to find acceptance of the message sanctioned, not by threats of punishment as is common in the Qur'ān, but by promises of temporal welfare; for in Arabia copious rain is the greatest of blessings. One wonders whether this is not the survival of an early trait in the story.

We find the same promise in *surah* lxxi, incorporated in the story of Noah. This story, though sometimes reduced to a mere scheme, naturally in its fuller forms approximates to the Biblical account. But as given in lxxi, it is quite different. Nothing could be more inappropriate to the Noah-story than a promise of copious rain as an inducement to turn to Allah. That it is so, and not a threat of the coming Flood, is shown by what follows in v. 11: "He will support you with wealth and children, and will appoint for you gardens and appoint for you rivers." The

gardens and rivers are here quite evidently not the gardens and rivers of Paradise, for which they ultimately become set terms in the Qur'ān. They are good gifts of this life. The verse shows a very different appreciation of these, and in particular, of wealth and children, from that which ultimately prevails in Muhammad's deliverances.

Now, the beginning of *surah* lxxi must by its phraseology be fairly late. But it has a different rhyme from the rest, and has probably been added to the *surah* at a late period, as an introduction. The end portions also, introduced by "Noah said," v. 20, and v. 27, are probably additions. When these are removed, what remains has hardly any connection with Noah. Is it possible that we have here an early account of Muhammad's own experience? —revised, naturally, when incorporated in the Noah-story. In any case, the central portion of the *surah* has so little basis in the actual story of Noah, that we may take it as the reflex of the story of the messenger of Allah to Mecca. If that be so, the passage furnishes an interesting confirmation of the conclusion reached in examining the traditions as to Muhammad's Call, that the most reliable statement was that he for some time carried on his work privately. [3] For Noah is here made to say:

5. O my Lord, I have called my people night and day,
5b. But my calling has only increased them in flight.
7. Then, lo, I called them publicly.
8. Then I made public proclamation to them, and spoke to them secretly;
10. "He will send the heaven upon you in copious rain,
11. And support you with wealth and children, and will appoint for you gardens and appoint for you rivers.
12. Why do ye not look to Allah for dignity
13. Seeing He hath created you by stages?
14. Have ye not seen how Allah hath created seven heavens in storeys,
15. And hath placed the moon in them as a light, and the sun as a lamp?
18. And Allah hath made for you the earth a wide expanse,
19. That of it ye may traverse open ways. [4]

[3] At the time I wrote that article, I had not noticed this confirmation.
[4] I have omitted what seem to me later additions to the passage.

If we may follow the indications of this passage, Muhammad began by advocating the claims of Allah in private, before beginning his public recitations, and afterwards for a time combined the two methods. There is no indication of any attack upon other gods—which agrees with another statement of tradition, that for a time the Quraish viewed Muhammad's activities without particular aversion, until he began to attack their gods (Ibn Hishām, p. 166). Allah is advocated as the source of blessing and prosperity, and this claim is supported by natural "signs" of His creative power and benevolence.

That depends upon a certain amount of reconstruction of the *surah,* and is, no doubt, precarious enough. Besides, the light which these stories of previous messengers throw upon Muhammad's own mission is, after all, only indirect. Still, the fact that they are so consistently presented in the Qur'ān as advocates of One God appears to me a weighty argument, that Muhammad's activity began in the same way. Considering the large place which the doctrines of the Last Day, the Judgment, and the Future Life came to have, and to the end retained, in his own teaching, it is remarkable how little part they play in his accounts of his predecessors. That they do appear in them here and there shows that he was not debarred from introducing them by the stories as he found them, and as they were known to his hearers. To my mind it indicates rather that his accounts of these messengers of Allah assumed a more or less fixed outline, before eschatology assumed for him the importance that it afterwards did.

Edinburgh RICHARD BELL.

MODERN PERSIAN LAW

Little has been written of the changes that have taken place in the legal system of modern Persia. They have been less spectacular than the decree that the heterogeneous mass of Persia's male population should discard the picturesque headgear that distinguished their tribes or occupations, and that they should all wear a specified kind of felt hat with a vizor. Notwithstanding, it is almost impossible to exaggerate the social and historic significance of recent changes of Persian law. For during the thirteen hundred years of Islamic domination, direct legislation on the part of a central and responsible government has not been the determining factor in the laws of the country. The Mohammedan *shari'at,* an elaborate system of religious and civil law, which has been evolved from a study of the teachings of the Koran and the traditional sayings of Mohammed, has for all these years displaced the laws of the Medes and the Persians. The choice of the pre-Islamic name *"Pahlavi"* (Parthian), as the name for the present dynasty, suggests, not so much a return to the standards of ancient Parthia, as a desire that Persia should find her place in the modern world, though it be at the price of shaking off the shackles of Mohammedan legal tradition.

Both the Sunnites and the Shi'ites have recognized the Koran and the Traditions as the two chief sources of their legal system. But in course of time it was found necessary to make these general sources more explicit by introducing principles of legal interpretation. The Sunnites developed two such dependent principles, one of which allowed judgment on the ground of a concensus of opinion (*ijmá'*), and the other on the basis of a legal analogy (*qiyás*). The

Shi'ites, ostensibly rejecting these two principles of interpretation, have included as a source for the *shari'at,* not only the *sunnat,* or alleged conduct of their esteemed Prophet, but also the declarations of his successors, the Twelve imams.[1] This is because the Shi'ites ascribe to the Imams, as well as to Mohammed and to his daughter Fatima, the authority of "inspired reason" (*aql al-fitrí*). Moveover human reason (*aql*), exalted in its importance by the Mu'tazilites,[2] was accepted by the Shi'ites as a subordinate principle for legal deduction (*istinbát*). Like the Sunnite principles of *ijmá'* and *qiyás,* this supplementary use of Reason has afforded a degree of elasticity for practical judgments.

It is a recourse to practical reason, exercised in this instance by a military government from the point of view of general expediency, that has created a whole system of new laws in Persia. The old law books, recording and emphasizing the very words of the traditions, were all in Arabic. Only shorter manuals, devoted for the most part to the ceremonial laws, were available in the language of the people. The new law books, on the contrary, have been published in Persian, and are widely circulated in pamphlet form. Each of the government departments has its rules of procedure that have been approved by acts of Parliament. A compendium of these government regulations has recently been issued in four volumes, with carefully prepared indices. The scope of direct legislation has been increasing with each session of the Parliament, until at the present time there is not only the Constitution, with its amendments, and the fundamental provisions for the four great provinces and the eleven departments of administration, but bureaus have been organized for a census, for

[1] According to Shi'ite belief, the Imams were the spiritual successors of the Prophet, and if the affairs of state had transpired as he would have desired, they should have been the Caliphs. 'Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, was the first Imam, and the authority passed by appointment to his two sons, Hasan and Husain. Afterwards the *imamate* was continued, both by heredity and by special designation, in the line of Husain until the death of Ja'far al-Sadik, the sixth Imam. He had several sons for whom the claim was made, but the belief that is orthodox in the Shi'ite world today is that the *imamate* was continued through the line of Musa al-Kazim until the series of Twelve Imams was terminated in 873 A. D.

[2] The Mu'tazilites were an exceedingly influential school of Moslem theologians, who were at the height of their influence early in the ninth century, in the caliphate of al-Ma'mun. They refused to agree to the doctrine that the Koran was *uncreated,* and dared to introduce principles of rational criticism.

the recording of deeds, and also for the government registration of marriages. The book of common law, with its clearly stated provisions in regard to property, wills, partnerships, etc., the rules of order for court trials, legal ways of hastening decisions in particular cases, the means afforded for legal arbitration without formal trial, rules for giving security, rules governing citizenship, criminal laws with the procedure for the trial of criminal cases, with special provision for the trial of government servants charged with criminal offenses, all of these are systematically arranged and briefly stated. It is evident that foreign law codes have been freely consulted and frequently imitated.

FOREIGN SUBJECTS

Formerly representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were sent to the larger cities in all the provinces, and to important frontier posts, to deal with all cases involving the rights of foreign subjects. But at the present time the "capitulations" are no longer in force, [3] and it is important to observe that "all the inhabitants of Persia, whether nationals or foreigners, shall be obedient to the laws of Persia, except in such particulars as a law may grant." Also it is noteworthy that "immovable property which foreign subjects have acquired, or do acquire, by contracts in Persia shall in every case be subject to the laws of Persia." However, "on questions relating to personal affairs and citizenship, such as hereditary rights according to conditions of contracts, foreign subjects resident in Persia shall be obedient to the laws and regulations of the government of their own nationality."

In the amendments to the Constitution are the provisions that "the life and property of foreign subjects resident in Persia is rendered secure and protected, except in such cases as the rules of the government specify," and that "except in cases of offenses, crimes, and serious mis-

[3] European diplomatic and commercial relations with the Mohammedan Empire, whether with Harun al-Rashid or with the late Sultan of Turkey, were granted as concessions or "capitulations," which furnished a model for later treaties with Persia, China, Japan, and Siam. When the treaty between the United States and Persia was renewed in 1928, the exceptional rights that had been granted by the "capitulations" were withdrawn.

demeanours, no person is subject to sudden arrest unless it be by the written order of the Chief of the Department of Justice, according to law, and in that case also the charge against him must be communicated to him at once, or at least within a period of twenty-four hours." Similarly "the house and home of everyone is safe and protected, and there is not to be forced entrance into any habitation, except by the authority and in the manner that the law provides." Provision is made also whereby "foreign subjects can adopt Persian nationality, their acceptance, continuance, or withdrawal from said nationality being provided for according to separate laws."

PERSIA STILL A MOSLEM COUNTRY

In the beginning of the Ṣafavíd dynasty, 1502-1736, Shi'ite Islam was proclaimed to be the official religion of the Kingdom of Persia. In this respect the Constitution of present-day Persia has not changed. On the contrary, it states explicitly that "the recognized religion of Persia is Islam, of the true way of the Ja'fariyya sect of the Twelvers,[4] and the King of Persia must be a believer and propagator of this religion." Parliament itself "exists by the protection and confirmation of the Imam of the Age,[5] may God hasten his appearing," and Parliament "must at no time in any action be contrary to the sacred tenets of Islam and the clear principles of His Highness the Best of Mankind (i. e., Mohammed), may God bless him and his descendants and give them peace; and it is stipulated that the responsibility for indicating discrepancies between current laws and the tenets of Islam shall be with the learned clergy, may God prolong the blessing of their existence."

The Shah of Persia is expected to take the following oath of office:

[4] Owing to the eminence of the sixth Imam, Ja'far al-Sadik, and the numerous writings on points of traditional law that are ascribed to him, the Shi'ites were sometimes spoken of as the Ja'fari. It is said that an unsuccessful effort was made in the eleventh century by Sayyid Murtaḍa, the Alam al-Huda, to have them so recognized and designated as a fifth legal school, i. e., on a par with the Shafi'i, the Hanafi, the Maliki, and the Hanbali.

[5] The Twelfth Imam is believed to have gone into concealment (*ghaibat*). In the mean time, pending his return, he is considered to be in authority over the faithful Moslem community and is so recognized in the Constitution of Persia.

"I take the All-Powerful and Most High God to witness, and by the praise-worthy Word of God, and by that which is honoured by God, I take oath to devote my whole life to the protection of the kingdom of Persia, to keep the boundaries of the country and the rights of the people secure and inviolate, and guarding the Constitution, to exercise sovereignty in accord with it and its appointed laws, and to put forth every effort to give currency to the Ja'farí sect of the Twelvers, and in all acts and deeds to recognize the exalted Lord as present and seeing, and to have no other purpose besides the progress and advancement of the government of the people of Persia; and from the Lord, whose assistance is sought in service for the progress of Persia, I shall seek guidance, and from the precious spirits of the saints of Islam, I shall seek help."

The oath required of the members of Parliament is a pledge of loyalty to the sovereign and to the Constitution. Nevertheless they also "call God to witness and swear by the Koran." "No one is eligible as a minister (of the Cabinet) unless he is a Muhammadan, a native Persian, and a Persian subject." "Those who are known to be of corrupt belief" are not allowed to vote, and similarly, "those who are known to be of corrupt belief," i. e., "those whose departure from orthodox Islam has been proved in the presence of one of the judges of the Compendium of Religious Law," are ineligible to election. An exception is made, however, to provide for the election of the single representatives of the Christian, Zoroastrian, and Jewish communities, who must, nevertheless, "be of sound faith in their own religion." Employees in particular forms of government service, e.g., recorders of deeds and magistrates for the Courts of Justice, must be able to show their adherence to the faith of Islam. It is still the intent of the modern law, therefore, that Persia should be governed by Shi'ite Mohammedans, notwithstanding the fact that the exigencies of present-day life have demanded a code of laws that is after the pattern of laws in non-Moslem countries.

REGULATIONS GOVERNING PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Among the amendments to the Constitution we read that "there is freedom for the study and teaching of the

sciences, of classical learning, and of handicrafts, *except in so far as is prohibited by law.*" It is further stated that "the establishment of schools, whether at the expense of the government or with funds from the community, and also in the case of compulsory study, must be according to the regulations of the department of sciences and learning, and all schools and writing classes (*maktabs*) must be under the authority and supervision of said department." There are particular items in the "Rules of the Department of Public Instruction" that have been of special interest to foreigners who have maintained schools in Persia, as in some cases they have made changes necessary in the school programs.

2. The program of studies for schools and writing classes is to be determined by the Department of Public Instruction, and provision must be made for mental, industrial, and physical training.
7. Communities other than Moslem do not have the right of requiring the study of their religion in government schools, and they shall likewise not be compelled to study the *shari'at* (religious law) of Islam.
8. Whoever opens an irregular school must notify the government.
10. Whoever opens an irregular school must observe the following conditions: (1) the Principal must not be less than thirty years of age; (2) the school building must meet the sanitary requirements made by the Department of Public Instruction; (3) in an elementary school the Principal must have the certificate of a Middle School, and in a Middle school the Principal must have the certificate of a High School; and (4) the Principal of a school must not have the reputation for corrupt belief, misconduct or blameworthy habits, or be one who has been engaged in misdemeanour or crime, and likewise the teachers whom he chooses must, in addition to the conditions mentioned, have the official certificates of the Department of Public Instruction.
12. The government inspector has the right to enter all schools and writing classes, regular and irregular, and no Principal has the right to object at any time.
14. The Department of Public Instruction is to forbid the teaching of books that are prejudicial to morals or religion, and

books that are forbidden by the Department of Public Instruction are not to be taught in any of the schools.

28. Corporal punishment is forbidden in schools and writing classes.

SUPERVISION OF THE PRESS

"All printed matter," the Constitution stipulates, "except books that are heretical and harmful, *is free,* and discrimination is forbidden, but whenever anything comes to light that is contrary to the laws regulating printed matter, both the circulator and the writer are subject to punishment according to the laws, but if the writer is well known and a resident of Persia, the circulator and printer and distributor are not held accountable." In further amplification of this provision, the Laws Regulating Printed Matter specify that "inspection in regard to books that are heretical, or articles that are prejudicial to Islam, is not prohibited." Furthermore, "all editors of books and magazines, and all owners of presses, are responsible to see to it that whenever they contemplate publishing anything referring to the faith of Islam, in regard to the roots or the branches of the faith, whether traditionally or jestingly, they must first have two of the religious lawyers certify its legality and its advantage, and they must also secure the authorization of the Department of Public Instruction. After its freedom from anything prejudicial to the religion and faith of Islam has been certified in writing, the book or article in question may then be printed and circulated." To enforce this requirement, the law goes on to state that "whenever any one of the editors of books or magazines, or of the owners of presses, or others mentioned in the previous article, should fail to comply with this requirement, it is the duty of the Public Prosecutor, or of a special prosecutor, to bring the matter to the attention of the Supervisor of Laws, or to a just *mujtahid* (religious lawyer) of Islam, and after the written certification of the guilt of the accused has been secured, the pages circulated are to be collected and seized, and the editor and writer and printer are to be officially

punished, at the determination of the Supervisor of Laws, or a just *mujtahid* of Islam, on the basis of the Laws Regulating Printed Matter." From these laws the following articles are of general interest and importance:

4. "The printing of current books, other than those that are forbidden, and of new books, other than those of religious sects, is free. New books of religious sects must before printing be submitted for examination and inspection to the bureau of the Department of Public Instruction to be known as the *Majma'-i-'Ulum-i-Diniyah* (Bureau of Religious Sciences) for authorization."
49. "Agents of the Department of Public Instruction and of the Police Department have the right to take over newspapers or books on the following conditions:
    1. Newspapers, books, or articles that are injurious to the foundations of Islam.
    2. Newspapers, books or articles that defame the honour of the kingdom.
    3. In case the plan or manner of movement of the army or other military secrets are revealed.
    4. In case the contents of a newspaper is causing public excitement and a disturbance of the peace.
    5. In case an invitation is given to oppose the established authority of the government.
    6. In case of the publication of a scandalous report that is indecent.

PRECAUTIONARY RESTRICTION OF PUBLIC MEETINGS

The Constitution provides that "meetings and assemblies, such as would not cause religious or secular uprising or a disturbance of the peace, *are free throughout the entire kingdom;* but those coming to assemblies must not come armed, and they must observe the regulations provided by law in this matter. Gatherings on avenues or on public commons must be according to the rules of the Police Department." Authority is thus vested in the Department of Public Instruction to act in cooperation with the Police Department in suppressing any meetings that might create disturbance. In the year 1931, in view of rumors of extensive Bolshevik propaganda in Persia, a special order was issued by the central Depart-

ment of Public Instruction to their official representatives throughout the country:

"If within the bounds of your jurisdiction there are foreigners who are carrying on propaganda against the religion of Islam or against the government, whether in schools or in teaching outside schools, it is necessary that you should take immediate measures to stop it, communicating the result of your action by telegraph, in order that appropriate measures may be taken. It goes without saying that if there is negligence in carrying out this order or its purpose be ignored you will he held personally responsible."

The question arose in the provinces as to whether this order should be construed as prohibiting also the work of Christian missionaries, and in some instances their preaching on itinerating journeys was forbidden. The Mission stations, however, are of long standing and are known not to have worked against the government, whether in their churches, schools, or hospitals. In these regular activities they are not being interfered with, and there is a large measure of freedom for the declaration and explanation of the teachings of Jesus Christ.

In conclusion it may well be emphasized that the primary characteristic of modern Persian law, as contrasted with the previous system, is that it is based on direct legislation. The first question is no longer the intent of the Koran and the Traditions, but the purpose and preference of the Government. Perhaps one of the most hopeful aspects of the situation is that it is always changing. The new law is free to grow according to the immediate needs of Persia. Numerous and baffling problems of legislation are being solved. Imports and exports must be balanced, the currency of the country must be stabilized, the mineral wealth must be developed, manufacturing must be encouraged, and more railroads must be built. All of this development will lead to further legislation. What other nations have done will have been carefully studied, so that the modern law of Persia may confidently be expected to have more and more in common with the laws in Europe and America.

Meshed, Persia DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

ISLAM IN NORTH AFRICA

North Africa has little in common with the rest of the African continent. Its soil, products, flora and fauna and the mean altitude and general direction of its mountain ranges, relate it more truly to Europe. North Africa has never been settled by Negroes, like the countries across the Saharan divide, but successively by white races—Berbers, Carthaginians, Romans, Goths and Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs, and now by Western Europeans. The occupation of the Berbers reaches back to prehistoric times, and from linguistic and archeological data we have presumptive proof that they were the ancestors of the earliest Iberians, and are represented in Europe today by the Basques. Great civilizations, rich cultures, military might, highly organized political and religious systems and abundant wealth have contributed to its stirring history, since it was first colonized by the Phoenicians twenty-seven centuries ago.

From the capture of Carthage by the Romans in 146, B. C., to the storming of the city by the Arabs in 698, A. D., a period covering eight centuries, North Africa moved in the cultural orbit of Greece and Rome, her neighbors the other side of the Middle Sea; and the architectural remains of Roman civilization on its soil are the finest and most extensive found in any country outside Italy. In its healthful and genial climate Roman colonists and soldiers had an average of life two years longer than that of their fellow countrymen in Italy. Under Roman government the Christian Church flourished exceedingly and produced leaders of renown. They included Tertullian, the great apologist and debater, who bent the Latin tongue to new Christian uses; Cyprian the Churchman, who compacted

and organized the Church; Augustine, the incomparable theologian, saint and scholar, and others little inferior to them, who wielded an influence in the councils of Christendom of commanding importance.

The fall of Algiers to the French in 1830 and the successive occupation of Tunis and Morocco within eighty years of that decisive event, ended the rule of Moslem Asia in North Africa, and after a lapse of eleven centuries brought the countries again into the orbit of Europe. There they doubtless will remain. Not alone are they needful to continental Europe for its natural expansion, but because of their strategical position on its flank.

France, especially, has expended vast sums in the development of her North African empire, which stretches unbrokenly from Tunis to Morocco, and in port cities like Tunis, Algiers, Casablanca and Oran, has established a commercial and cultural prestige which radiates everywhere and dominates the country. Spain is being spurred to emulate her amazing progress, and Tripoli under the Italians pursues the same policy of rapid Europeanization. It will not be long before the constantly advancing French railway system, which now runs across the country from Tunis to Fez and links up in other directions the most important centers, together with more than twenty thousand miles of excellent car roads, will be joined on to the Italian system which is planned to run from Tripoli, through Cyrenaica, and thence to Alexandria. Furthermore, North Africa, by reason of a favorable geographic and climatic situation, is, like South Africa, eminently fitted to be the home of an indigenous white race. About one million Europeans are at each of these ends of the continent, building up powerful indigenous white nations.

It will, therefore, be readily seen that, unlike Egypt, Syria, Palestine and other Moslem countries of the Near East,—which strictly do not move within the European orbit—North Africa presents to us a Moslem situation which is quite unique. It forms an enclave in the world of Islam, upon which the forces of continental Europe are

impacting and are profoundly upheaving the whole life of fifteen millions of their Moslem subjects. These are beginning to be aware of the might of the three Western nations who by scientific, mechanical and financial strength have submerged their medieval civilization, abolished their political independence, and rule them by the will of Allah.

The process of disintegration directed by Europe follows three main directions. First, the weakening of national consciousness by a policy of racial and political assimilation. Second, the gradual displacement of the national language by cultural penetration through a universal system of primary and secondary education, which by means of generous educational grants fosters the diffusion of European languages. Third, the weakening of Islam as a religious force by setting it the spiritual problem of meeting the soul need of a European-educated, and increasingly sophisticated people—a people in daily touch with world news by wireless, and faced with the hard facts of modern European economic competition, in which the exchange fluctuations of sterling, dollar or franc may send them supperless to bed. These processes are in their fullest activity in the French territories of Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco. Assimilation, marked by a movement to obtain French citizenship, is very marked throughout Algeria—which has been occupied since 1830—both among Arabs and Kabyles. Of the latter, more than two thousand have already this status. In Tunisia, where Islam is especially refractory, the movement meets the violent opposition of Moslem leaders, who hold that those who accept French citizenship have ceased to be Moslems, and refuse burial to such in Moslem cemeteries. As the result of recent serious rioting in Tunis City, separate cemeteries are now provided by the government for the interment of Moslems who have become French citizens.

Of Morocco it is yet too early to speak, but the gradual liberation of the Berbers—whose ancestors were Christians in the early North African Church—from the legal code of the *Sheriat,* and applying in their favor the tribal laws

(*Kanouns*) or the Code Napoleon, may be expected to hasten the process. Among the important Kabyle section of the Berbers, who occupy the mountains of Algeria, and who total about one million people, we may anticipate also the expansion of a legal system, already partly in force, which is not based upon Moslem law. Indeed, it is well within bounds of probability that in the hands of capable French administrators and educationalists the Berbers may prove to be the spear head which eventually will effectively split up Islam in Algeria and Morocco.

The splendid missionary opportunity before the Church in Kabylia may justify the fact that fifteen men and forty-seven women missionaries (about one-half of the entire missionary force working among Moslems in Algeria) are evangelizing the Kabyles from twenty-one stations. Nevertheless, it cannot be pretended that a like number of missionaries are in any adequate way reaching four and a half millions of Algerian Moslems, other than Kabyles, and who, moreover, are of a more thoroughly convinced religious type than these latter.

The spiritual implications of the epic struggle between East and West in North Africa touches our missionary interest most profoundly. The stage is being slowly passed in which the Bible and the Koran set the field of controversy, and wordy textual battles were fought over such a factual matter as the death of the Lord Jesus Christ. The sources of historical information open to the student of French sharply challenge the reliability of Islam, which in this particular matter is not upon a ground of debatable doctrine, but upon that of a verifiable fact of secular history. The textual conflict proceeds, however, and more dogmatically where European influence is least operative; but an increasing mass of Moslems are becoming interested rather in those universal questionings of the soul, to which the gospel of Christ alone can give an answer.

Throughout North Africa the younger generation of Moslems infrequently attend the mosques; the majority of men under forty (writes a missionary) are breaking away

in practice from Islam. In Tunisia only the fear of losing national existence increases the grip upon the Faith of which Islam is the bulwark. But even in this citadel of Islam, numbers of those most opposed to French assimilation are quite irreligious, drinkers of wine and forsakers of the mosques. Under the drive of modern education, the passing of isolation, the weakening of prejudice and misapprehension through contact with European peoples, and a truer idea of Christ and His gospel through missionary endeavor, Islam in North Africa is being forced on to a plane of spiritual conflict in which it has to face the challenge whether it or Christ can meet the soul needs of men. There is every reason for taking courage in view of this evolution of Islam, provided that our own feet are firmly planted upon the Rock of Ages. There is only one gospel which has the least chance of acceptance in North Africa—the gospel of the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, with which Augustine so profoundly stirred the land in Roman days.

The opinion of the missionary body on the field—with whose invaluable collaboration this article has been written—is fairly general that at this stage of the work in North Africa direct evangelistic effort should immediately be developed. The period of mere defense is passing, the open field invites advance. The new opportunity, however, is revealing as by a vivid revelation how unprepared the missions are to take the inviting initiative. They have not the strength to do so. This land—one of the largest homogeneous mission fields of the world—covers an area of about one million square miles, equal to that of the whole of British India. In it there are about sixty men engaged in Moslem work, also nearly two hundred women who are bravely laboring to break the power of social tradition, unreasoning ignorance and family conservatism in which Islam finds one of its last and strongest defences. There are not enough women engaged for such a hard task, but of men, the number can only be regarded as pitiful. In Tunisia, for example, one of the hardest and

stoniest fields of the Moslem world, there are only five men, and the whole of Tripoli is held by one.

The unique opportunity in North Africa would warrant a conference of missionary leaders to study the whole problem and formulate a plan to solve it in the spirit of prayer and waiting upon God. Such a conference might discover that the combination of many elements would be necessary to solve it. The unifying factors evidently are supremely important. The need of a central body through which strategical guidance might be given to develop an evangelistic movement would probably dictate the advisability of greatly strengthening the North Africa Mission, which alone is engaged in work throughout North Africa. Further, there would appear the need of a close coordination, both at home and on the field, of all the missions engaged, and a new emphasis laid upon the intensive spiritual culture of native believers and their organization into indigenous churches, as a means of securing a larger spiritual contribution on their part to the general task. Great importance would be attached to the calling into partnership of the Protestant leaders in the evangelical churches in France, Italy and Spain—the occupying Powers in North Africa. An appeal to the evangelical churches in America to assume a large participation would suggest itself, so that their contribution of missionary initiative, drive and courage might be secured, and full utilization made of their advantage in not belonging to any of the nations who have territorial commitments in Africa.

These, and other principles of procedure would appear to arise naturally from a consideration of the matters at issue. But such a conference would ultimately come down to the question of finance, and to a solemn consideration as to whether the Lord Jesus Christ could meet such a large and long-continued expenditure as would be needed. The only way to certainly know this, of course, would be to ask Him.

London. JOSEPH J. COOKSEY.

THE MOSLEM MINORITY OF BULGARIA

Bulgaria is characterized by the homogeneity of its population. During those days of darkness and strife under the Turks, the Bulgarians became fused into a people intensely nationalistic and eager for freedom. Because of this fusing process there are few foreign elements in the land. The minority which comprises the greatest number is the Mohammedan element.

There are three types of Moslems in Bulgaria: the Turks, the Pomaks, and the Gypsies. These will be discussed later on. There are some Tatars still living in Bulgaria who cling to Islam, but they are of little importance compared with the other followers of Mohammed.

A glance at the statistics will show the situation as it stands: The most reliable census of recent times is the one taken in 1920, and the following figures were compiled at that time: [1]

Total Population	4,846,971	
Pure Bulgarians	4,036,056	83.27%
Turks	520,339	10.73%
Gypsies	98,451	2.03%
Tatars	4,905	.10%
Other Races	187,220	3.87%

If we accept the figures given in 1922 as being more accurate because more recent, we have the following statistics: [2]

Total Population	4,909,700
Moslems (70,000 Pomaks)	750,000
Percentage of Moslems	18%

However, Max Hoppe, the outstanding missionary among the Moslems in Bulgaria, writes recently that

[1] Geografia na Bulgaria i susednite i durzhavi, p. 291.
[2] Annuaire du Monde Musulman (1925).

there are a total of 650,000 Moslems in Bulgaria.[3] His estimate is therefore more modest than the one quoted just above.

The study of the fluctuation of the Moslem population in Bulgaria is interesting:

In 1878, 26% of the population was Turk.

Within 30 years, Northern Bulgaria lost 21% of its Turkish population.

Within 26 years, Southern Bulgaria lost 38%.[4]

In 1910, 11.16% of the population were Turks.

In 1920, 10.83% of the population were Turks.[5]

It is to be borne in mind that the above figures do not deal with the Pomaks, the Bulgarians who became Mohammedans in the seventeenth century.

Thus, after the defeat of Turkey by Russia, a great number of Turks, especially the richer ones, went to Turkey. As we go to the study of the different Mohammedan peoples as groups, let us remember that eighteen per cent of the people in Bulgaria are Mohammedans and the majority of these are Turks.

A. THE TURKS

The life of the average Turk differs little from that of the Bulgarian peasant. He, too, is a faithful tiller of the soil, having simple tastes and simple standards of living. However, though both have very primitive conceptions of the universe, they differ considerably in their religious convictions. Some superstitions affect them alike, but the colorful ritual of the Orthodox Church cannot be matched in the Mohammedan mosques of Bulgaria.

Mohammedanism is a religion which affects the daily life of the adherents even more than the Orthodox Christianity of the country. Pagan customs have crept into the practices of each group of worshippers; yet both Mohammedans and Christians would die for their faith.

The Turks make good citizens and are law-abiding. There is a spirit of comradeship between these Mohammedans and the Bulgarians with whom they are associated.

[3] "News Letter"—Amer. Chr. Lit. Soc. for Moslems—April, 1933.
[4] Geografia na Bulgaria i susednite i durzhavi, p. 167.
[5] Leon Lamouche: La Bulgarie, p. 38.

One feels that there is little racial hostility manifest between Turks and Bulgarians. When Turkey and Bulgaria fought side by side in the World War, some of the animosity that had remained from the days of Turkish oppression passed away.

The Geography book used in the eighth class of the National Gymnasium has this to say of the Turks:

"The Turks take second place among the nationalities of Bulgaria. They have long remained chiefly in the districts of Deli-Orman, Gerlovo, Tuzluk, Aitos, Haskovo, Kurdjali and Koshukavak. In the other parts of Bulgaria, especially in northwest and in southwest Bulgaria and in Bulgarian Macedonia, there are almost no Turks. The physiognomical characteristics of the Turk, especially in the cities, because of mixture with the Slavic-Bulgarian population, is no longer Mongolian. Only the Turks in the interior of Deli-Orman have not mixed so much with other nationalities, and they still retain the Mongolian features. The same holds true likewise for the Turks in the Eastern Rhodope Mountains. Generally the Turks are submissive to authority, phlegmatic to the point of being fatalistic, often apathetic. They take no thought for the morrow. In a cultural regard they occupy a very backward place. Among them there are several religious sects; the most interesting is the *Kuzulbash* in the district of Deli-Orman and Stara-Zagora. [6]

That is what the Bulgarian student learns concerning the Turk in his geography class. Of course, in other subjects he acquires other facts about these people dwelling within his borders.

A. Baldacci, a professor at the Royal University of Bologna, writes about the understanding between the Bulgarians and Turks as follows:

"The Moslem minority in Bulgaria is very interesting. Bulgarians and Turks, having lived together for centuries, have learned to live in good understanding and to esteem one another reciprocally. It is not rare to observe in the Bulgarian fields some touching illustrations of this deep esteem which makes the peasants of the two races struggle with equal sacrifice for a common cause: the prosperity and welfare of the fatherland." [7]

I think Professor Baldacci's remarks hold true for the villager, but it is interesting to notice how one student of the American College of Sofia differs. This young man is

[6] Geografia na Bulgaria i susednite i durzhavi, p. 171.
[7] A. Baldacci: Situation Economique de la Bulgarie, p. 10.

an inhabitant of Nikopol, a town on the Danube in which a great many Turks reside. He has a number of Turkish acquaintances and is able to write intelligently about them. I shall quote some of his remarks, describing the characteristics of the Turks and the feeling entertained by many of the Bulgarians toward them:

"The Turks living in Bulgaria, during the long period of their dealings with the Bulgarians, have not been influenced by the latter and they still represent a rather different character from ours. This is due mainly to their religion. And these two groups—Turks and Bulgarians—differ from each other mainly in their religions. They are also on two different culture levels. They are always rather unfriendly toward each other; the religion has divided these two peoples in their culture and folk-life and thus has been the main factor in creating the differences which exist today." [8]

He goes on to discuss in his paper the fact that intermarriage between Bulgarians and Turks took place in the past only when some Bulgarian girl was carried away captive by a Turk. If a Bulgarian man married a Turkish girl, he would not be received well by his Mohammedan relatives. I can now recall stories written about that same theme: the love between some noble Bulgarian youth and some beautiful Turkish damsel. Yet, due to the differences between the races the love-affair ended in tragedy.

Next, Mr. Uzunov discusses the difference in the culture of the two peoples. There is no doubt that the Bulgarians far surpass the Turks of the land in education and enlightenment. But very few Bulgarians bear in mind that the wealthy and educated Turks returned to Turkey when Bulgaria gained its independence. It is, therefore, unfair to compare the best of Bulgarians with the Turks who remained behind.

"The Bulgarian countryman by instinct is bound to the land, while the Turk thinks that he is a guest on earth and does not bother himself much about working the land. . . . . The holy place for the Turks in a city or town is their church building—the mosque. Every Friday morning at about ten-thirty, many old Turks are seen walking in groups toward the mosque. This is usually a very large and massive building, which has a fountain about fifty meters

[8] D. Uzunov: The Mohammedans in Bulgaria. (A brief paper).

from it in the yard. All the groups that enter the gate direct themselves to that fountain. Here they wash the parts of their body. After this quite important ceremony, which shows that the Turk is not afraid of water and uses it a great deal, the worshipper is ready for the service.

"In this connection it may be noted that in every house there is a fountain. The Turk never forgets to wash his teeth after partaking of his meal. When the Mohammedans have entered the mosque, they leave their shoes in the small outer part and go into the main part of the building where the ceremonies are carried on. The Turks enter it barefooted. They take their place and sit on the floor, which is usually covered with rugs. They face the eastern part of the mosque, where the *hodja* is sitting in a somewhat higher place with his back to the worshippers. The service is carried on in the Arabic language, which is entirely unknown to the greater part of the Turks, who are calmly listening and doing the same movements performed by the *hodja,* just as though someone were giving commands.

"The *hodja* is the most important personality in the settlement. He circumcises all Turkish boys when they are from two to five years old, but the age is not important. The day of the circumcision is fixed by the father of the boy. On the day when the boy is circumcised, the father invites all the relatives to attend the great feast for the boy's sake. The *hodja* is the main factor in the carrying out of the ceremony. He reads the prayer, and after that he goes on with his work. All other religious performances are done by the *hodja.*" [9]

I shall interrupt Mr. Uzunov's observations here long enough to mention that there are numerous stories in which intellectual and verbal contests take place between the Turkish *hodja* and the Bulgarian Pope, or priest. Many a time have the boys sat around their dormitories at the American College of Sofia and had a rollicking good time narrating these lively accounts of conflicts between the representatives of the two religions. As is to be expected, the *hodja* usually got the worst of the battle. One of the stories tells of the time that a *hodja* and a "Pope" got into an argument, and the *hodja* boasted that he could name more Saints in Islam than the Pope could in Christendom. The agreement was made that every time the Pope named a saint he could pull a hair from the beard of the

[9] D. Uzunov: The Mohammedans in Bulgaria. (A Monograph).

hodja, and whenever the *hodja* thought of a Holy person he could slap the pope on the back. The battle proved a close struggle for quite a while. But suddenly the Pope had an inspiration and, calling out "The Forty Holy Martyrs," he grabbed such a handful of hair that the *hodja* had to leave the contest in disgrace.

"Another important celebration is the keeping of Ramadan. During that month all the Turks fast, even the smallest children from two to five years of age. The fasting is observed from sunrise in the morning until four o'clock in the evening and during this period the Turk is not allowed to eat nor drink. At four the muezzin is heard loudly announcing the break-up of the fasting for the day. Sometimes this is done by beating of drums. Every Mohammedan, in whatever place he happens to be, leaves his work and tries to satisfy his unusual hunger. During the night all the relatives of a certain family are gathered together in a certain house for what they call *laf-moabet.* During all these days of Ramadan, in the evening there are ceremonies in the mosque. There in the quiet holiness of the night, under the weak light of the lamps, old Turks kneel perfectly silent listening to the *hodja.* And from time to time the quietness of the night is interrupted by the loud pronouncing of the name of Allah by all the worshippers. The ceremony being over, all the Turks noiselessly come out of the mosque, directing their way toward home.

"The day of St. George is quite an important holiday for the Mohammedans. Early in the morning groups of women, children and men are seen on their way to the banks of the large Danube river. Here each member of every Turkish family throws a sheet of paper into the water. The sheet is colored differently on each side and by the way the paper falls into the water one predicts whether the future will be happy or sad. The time before noon is spent over the waters of the Danube river. In the afternoon they are accustomed to gather themselves in a definite place outside the town, where they carry out the second part of the celebration, which reminds me of Coney Island in New York.

"A peculiar thing about the celebration of their holidays is the fact that all the Turks, from the child to the old men, are dressed in new clothes. Even now the Turkish women still use the *fereje* in many places. The woman is the master of the house. She is occupied with the work in the household, which is not very difficult; she has to do the cooking and does not bother herself much about other kinds of work. Her husband attends to the outside business. He is either a fisherman, especially in the towns along the

Danube; or he may be an agriculturist. The Turks are especially fond of horseracing, especially in those places where the conditions are favorable for that. For instance, in the Deli-Orman the Turk is rather fond of animals, and he likes to observe the fights between geese and sheep. He also enjoys watching men fight. Very often on their holidays contests are held between two strong men, to see who is the strongest of the community. These fighters are dressed in trousers of leather; the upper part of their bodies is bare. The winner is regarded with very great honor and is pleased when a Turkish boy calls him *pelevan*. At the moment one calls him this, a pleasant smile appears on his face." [10]

I have quoted the above so fully to illustrate in an effective way how a young, nationalistic Bulgarian feels toward the Turks in his land. Furthermore, what he has to say throws a good deal of light on the life of the Turks as he understands it.

B. THE POMAKS

There are two explanations for the derivation of the word "Pomak":

(1) From the word *"pomagach"* which means "helper," derived from the verb *"pomagam"* "to help." This is considered the most probable explanation of all, and would mean that the Bulgarians who forsook their own Christian religion for Islam were looked upon, both by Turks and Bulgarians, as "helpers" of the Mohammedan conquerors. (2) A second explanation given is that the word *"pomak"* comes from *"pomuka,"* derived from the verb *"pomuchvam"*, which means "to torture, torment a little, to tease a while." [11] If we accept this view, the name *"pomak"* would indicate with what a struggle the Turks forced these Bulgarians to become Mohammedans. It would mean that they had to torture them and torment them before they gave up their Christianity.

Be the explanation as it may, the fact remains that in Bulgaria today there are between 90,000 and 100,000 pure Bulgarians who have embraced Islam. These people speak very chaste Bulgarian, knowing no Arabic or Turkish; pure Bulgarian blood flows in their veins and

[10] D. Uzunov: "The Mohammedans in Bulgaria."
[11] K. Stephanov: Bulgaro-Angliski Rechnik. (A dictionary).

they observe many old Bulgarian folk-ways. Being sadly out of touch with the authorities in Turkey they remind one of an island isolated from the mainland, both because of distance, language difficulty and change of political control.

However, one could find few people more devoted in the observance of their religion, as they understand it. Perhaps the fortunate lot of their fellow-Bulgarian peasants who remained true to the faith of their fathers serves as a daily reproach to them, because they have embraced the creed of a foreign power. But we must not pass judgment on these Pomaks until we hear something of their story.

In the villages of the Rhodope Mountains (Southeastern Bulgaria), the Bulgarians fought for a long time against the Turks. After many struggles the villagers saw that this incessant warfare could not be continued indefinitely and that inevitably the Ottoman conquerors would reach their villages and utterly destroy them. Consequently, they sent a messenger to Lalashahoia Pasha to tell him that they would submit themselves to his will and were ready to obey him. Accordingly, the Turkish representative and these Bulgarians agreed upon two conditions: first, the Bulgarians were not subject to any taxes, but every man between the ages of twenty and twenty-five was required to go and fight with the Turkish soldiers. He was to *help* them; hence, *"pomak"* or "a helper." The second condition was that they could keep their own church independence, remaining Christian though not being under the jurisdiction of the hated Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, it seems that the word *"pomak"* came into common parlance long before these Bulgarians rejected the Christian faith. These conditions remained inviolate until the latter half of the seventeenth century.

In 1659 these *pomaks* were all made Mohammedans, their conversion taking place in a very unexpected way. The Sultan Mohammed IV was getting ready for a fight

with the Venetians. Six pashas started from Plovdiv through Peshtera to Macedonia. All of a sudden many Turks arrived in Chepino, and the pashas called all the priests and mayors together and ordered that they be chained. Everybody was greatly disturbed because there was no apparent reason for such unprecedented action. They asked the chief pasha to tell them why these acts of violence were being perpetrated and he explained the situation. The Greek bishop in Plovdiv, being angry that these Christians were not subject to his authority, told the pasha that the people in the Chepino were getting together to revolt against the Turks.

After this surprising revelation the pasha ordered his soldiers to kill all of the prisoners. At this time a *hodja* begged him not to perform such a bloodthirsty deed but to urge these Bulgarians to accept Islam. The zeal with which these people accepted Islam is almost incredible. Some attribute this precipitate action to the fear of the cruelty of the Turks that the Bulgarians had seen demonstrated elsewhere. However, I am inclined to believe that these simple villagers who had been calumniated by an official as high in the Christian church as the Bishop of Plovdiv became disgusted with Christianity, especially as far as their knowledge of it among the Greek clergy was concerned. Of course, the seed of Islam had long been sown in the soil of these Rhodope villages, because all of the men had fought side by side with Turkish soldiers through many campaigns. Yet, it must have been with some resentment against the action of so-called Christian potentates that they embraced Islam so enthusiastically. It is needless to add that they kept many of their old Christian customs.

Many attempts have been made to awaken the old Bulgarian spirit in them, but all efforts have accomplished little. As mentioned before, they still speak the Bulgarian language, sing many Bulgarian songs, but are most fanatically Mohammedan in their religion. [12] It is said that

[12] The material for the discussion of the conversion of the Pomaks is taken from the work of Ivan Vazov, a famous Bulgarian poet.

many of the Pomaks helped the Turks in the massacre of Batak, in which four or five thousand people were cruelly slaughtered in a pitiless manner because of insurrection against the Ottomans. A statement by Mr. William Miller shows how the Pomaks turned against their fellow-countrymen: "The national movement had spread across the Maritza River to Mount Rhodope, where the Christians fought against the Mohammedan Bulgars, or Pomaks, who were, like the Mohammedan Serbs in Bosnia and the Mohammedan Greeks in Crete, the most fanatical adherents of Turkish rule." [13]

The Pomaks again burst into the limelight of history as a result of the Pomak Republic formed at the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. William Miller thus describes this unique creation:

"Only in the Rhodope mountains, where a half-English, half-Polish adventurer, named St. Clair, owner of a hunting-box near the coast of the Black Sea, had been hailed as a 'saviour' by the Mussulman insurgents at the close of the war, twenty-two communities of 19,000 Bulgarian Moslems formed the so-called 'Pomak Republic', independent alike of Turkey and of Eastern Roumelia, to which the Berlin treaty had assigned them. One of the authors of the massacres of 1876 (those of Batak and elsewhere) maintained himself as the chief of this band of fanatical robbers, until, in 1883, the Porte, heedless of the Berlin treaty, annexed the 'Republic' by the cheap device of decorating and giving official uniforms to the leading 'Republicans.'" [14]

This action on the part of Turkey was later legalized, March 3, 1886, in the treaty of Bucharest.

The Pomaks, furthermore, had a part in the destruction of Christian property, in accordance with the policy being carried out by the Turks at the time. "In the seventeenth century when forced Islamization had taken place among the Bulgarians of the Rhodope Mountains, the new Mohammedans, or Pomaks, were obliged by the *hodjas* and the Turkish chiefs, to destroy and ruin thirty-three monasteries and two hundred and eighteen churches, situated between Kostenetz and Stanimaka." [15]

[13] Wm. Miller: The Ottoman Empire—(1801-1913), p. 365.
[14] Wm. Miller: The Ottoman Empire (1801-1913), p. 415.
[15] Plovdiv: V svoeto minalo i nastoyashte—Shishkoff—p. 317.

"The Pomak women still wear the national Bulgarian costumes; the Pomaks celebrate several pagan-Slavic and Christian holidays; they generally avoid polygamy. Above all, they are fanatical Mohammedans; they emigrate often—just as the Turks do. Their new faith killed their national consciousness." [16]

C. THE GYPSIES

A wanderer around Sofia, with an eye keen in observation and a pen facile in description, gives the following account of the "Gypsy Quarter" of this city. The beauty of the writer's liquid French is lost to a great extent in translation, but my English version will give the reader the information which the passage contains:

"Very few of those living in the center of the city are acquainted with the Gypsy Quarter. The majority vaguely imagine that it is located far away at the edge of the city—toward Kniajevo perhaps, or beside the cemetery: in a word, in some part where people never have the idea of venturing. Others, on the contrary, think that it is only a name which has remained from the past and is attached to an old quarter long since changed. If you should ask anyone where, in short, live all these gypsies who walk around our streets selling grains of parched corn, some flowers or baskets and cry out in a piercing voice: 'Come on, buy some corn well whitened!' or 'Here you are! Here are some baskets, some baskets!' . . . surprised at first, the person would answer you: 'The devil knows where they encamp: some of them near by or in some unfinished house!'

"At first sight the houses of this quarter seem to you of the same style as those of other poor sections; but upon proceeding further they become more quaint. Many have the side covered with old sheets of tin, which the rust has turned red, although certain places have been polished as if they were meant to be used as mirrors. Other walls are made of interwoven branches. Finally, many are whitewashed in tints of rose, bright blue or yellow. All are surrounded by small gardens, where the peonies luxuriantly brighten up the surroundings.

"At the end of the quarter extends a large street bearing the pompous title of 'Boulevard circulaire.' The oddest place perhaps is in its confines. Since there is no trace of pavement on this 'boulevard' and in view of the fact that it is entirely invaded by weeds, it resembles more than anything else a long and fairly large prairie. . . . . But 'the boulevard' (where in autumn one

[16] Geografia na Bulgaria i susednite i durzhavi, p. 171.

sinks in the mud!) possesses perhaps of all the streets of Sofia the grandest view. . . . . .

"The cabins of the 'boulevard' are all as little and multi-colored as the others. Here and there, couples of old gypsies are seated on the threshold. They wear oriental costumes, gaudy in color; men and women have on large puffed pantaloons. The men wear turbans, blue or pale rose shirts, and large sashes which go many times around their waists. The women's heads are covered by colored handkerchiefs; often around their brown necks hang heavy chains of old coins. They wear old shoes, run down at the heels, on their bare, small feet. The old people sit with crossed legs on the threshold of their dwelling and warm themselves, immovable, in the sun. However, their immobility is somewhat strange. It is not apathetic, without life, but seems more like a type of ecstasy. One would say that these human creatures were giving themselves unconsciously to the cult of the sun as if their whole body, by all its pores and fibers, wished to absorb almost religiously the benevolent warmth.

"In front of other huts the laborers are working. Some make baskets; others tin utensils of copper, which have been brought to them from the neighboring Bulgarian quarter. The tools of these very experienced kettle-repairers are extremely simple. . . . .

"In the little gardens around the houses the gypsy women busy themselves grubbing the weeds from the flower-beds. The old women, though somewhat ugly, are not repulsive in their looks. Among the young women, one sees very pretty individuals. Their bodies, unobstructed by their narrow apparel, are supple and their rapid movements are harmonious as though they kept time to the beat of music which one does not hear, but which would be passionate and melodious.

"Towards evening, when the work is finished, the young women and the girls dance on the 'boulevard.' A musician plays on his violin some sad melodies in scarcely perceptible modulations. These dances at twilight, while the sky pales little by little as though tired out, call forth charming tableaux, not at all commonplace. The young gypsies dance lightly and with a grand seriousness, as if they were executing a sacred round. The old people follow their movements with a silent, nostalgic reverie. A charm, distant and strange, emanates from these groups. All around them half-naked infants play and force their way between. One of them, who is angry, cries and throws stones at his play-mates. In his right hand he holds a rock, but in his left he retains with all of his little strength a full-blown rose, and from time to time casts a look at it lovingly through his tears. While he fights with the other children

he protects the flower as well as he can, holding it strongly enough and high enough in his clenched hand.

"This gypsy infant appeared to me as the symbol of all his tribe. Surely, these primitive men are often coarse; they choose but little their ways in the combat of merciless life. They steal, they lie often. But they have something in them which gives them a charm all their own, sometimes resembling the rose of this brown infant.

"This something we experience difficulty in catching and more difficulty in understanding. But one perceives, especially in looking into the black eyes of the sad gypsies, an eternal nostalgia. Perhaps they dream vaguely of that distant and marvelous fatherland, of those jungles on the bank of the Sacred River, of those people of Buddha in whose veins course the same blood as theirs?" [17]

The Gypsies of Bulgaria, as Dr. Zwemer points out, are said to number 98,000; they are of Aryan origin, and use their own tongue, mixed with many Turkish words, especially in their religious vocabulary. [18] Another authority concurs in these facts and adds: "The gypsies settled in the Balkan peninsula during the fifteenth century. They are scattered throughout the whole of Bulgaria, multiplying rapidly. They can be divided into two groups: the settled and the nomadic. The first live in quarters of the cities; the second wander, especially in the summer time. The majority are Mohammedans, but in the cities at the foot of the Balkan Range (Kotel, Sliven, Elena, etc.) there are some Christians, who quickly became Bulgarized." [19]

In closing this abbreviated account of the gypsies as a people I cannot refrain from depicting a few scenes that present themselves to my mind:

The public bath house in the mountain town of Samokov is a heavily built stone structure, resembling a prison in appearance. Its somber drabness is enlivened at times, however, by a merry procession which starts from its portals. Every gypsy maiden just before her marriage is required to undergo the unique experience of taking a bath. Accompanied by a group of women, all adorned in their brightest Turkish trousers, she enters the bathhouse for the "thrill of a lifetime." When the ordeal is over, she

[17] Translated from "Impressions de Sofia" by Dimitri Shishmanov, pp. 42-48.
[18] S. M. Zwemer: Across the World of Islam, p. 350.
[19] Geografia na Bulgaria i susednite i durzhavi, p. 173.

emerges, heavily veiled, and the women with her fall into a line behind a trio of gypsy "musicians," who make a genuine noise on a rude violin, a battered cornet and a home-made drum. As these joyous souls march down the street, a group of urchins fall into the procession and shout with excitement, much to the amusement of the Bulgarian spectators on the sidewalks. The wedding follows in Mohammedan fashion.

Because Bulgaria is a mountainous land, the roads like to wind. Oftentimes a turn of the highway brings one face to face with some unexpected sight. This proved especially true one day when the rounding of a curve brought us face to face with a gypsy encampment. In a field by the side of the road black tents sheltered those dozing within from the warm noonday sun. Naked little boys, attracted by our pause for a photograph, came up begging for a coin. They are trained to beg just as the Bulgarian sheep dogs are trained to bark at the approach of any stranger. If either the gypsy child or the Bulgarian dog failed to carry out its respective duty, a sound thrashing might follow. In pitiful voices these youngsters asked for money and would not leave until given some coins. Women came out seeking a chance to read our palms; men looked on from their repose in the shade and smiled. At last we drove on. We did not have enough coins for all the multitudinous youngsters in the encampment and those receiving nothing threw stones at our auto as we pulled away. Gypsies are much the same throughout the world.

Many gypsies dwell in the Pomak villages. This seemed strange to me until I discovered that Pomaks and gypsies were co-religionists, but they do not seem to mix much otherwise. The gypsy quarter is always much worse than even the primitive dwellings of the Pomaks. It is to be noted, however, that the settled gypsies usually possess more commendable characteristics than those who wander around wherever their fancy leads.

Princeton, N. J. IRWIN T. SANDERS.

THE HISTORY OF THE NESTORIAN CHURCH IN CHINA[1]

When we as Westerners try to picture to ourselves the spread of Christianity in the first centuries, we travel in our imagination always westwards. We begin with the first center in Jerusalem, and then we accompany Paul on his journeys through Syria, Asia Minor and Greece, to Rome. And no wonder, for the earliest and most reliable source of the history of the first missionary movement, namely, the Acts of the Apostles, has just this framework; and for the history of Christianity this movement westward was undoubtedly one of supreme importance.

Yet there was more than Paul's missionary endeavors. For did not the other disciples do anything? Here we are left in almost complete darkness, for the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, telling about Thomas, Philip and Andrew, etc., are without any historical value. But they and all the ordinary Christians, who in the first century became missionaries as soon as they became Christians, what did they do, where did they go?

We can only conjecture an answer, which, however, has a considerable degree of probability and is supported by a certain amount of proof to the student of Christian beginnings.

In Acts, chapter 2, Luke tells us about the large gathering of Jews present at Pentecost, and the overwhelming impression they received. They are described as coming from a great number of countries around the Mediterranean Sea and, in addition, from several places outside the Roman Empire, like Parthia, Media, Elam, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. This list of people and places is in the

[1] Lecture delivered by Professor Sten Bugge, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Shekow, before the Hankow Literary Society, in Union Church Hall, February 27, 1934.

first place indicative of the extent of the dispersion of the Jews, but it seems to me very probable that it will also indicate to which places the Gospel had gone at the time of the writing of the Acts, 80 A. D. It had been preached in Mesopotamia, Persia, and Arabia.

But a still stronger proof of an early spread eastward is found in the record of the bishops of Adiabene, east of the Tigris. This is a source discovered by Mingana, and it has at once put all the vague conjectures on a firm basis of fact. For from this book we learn that as early as the year 104 A. D., Addai, who was the Apostle of these regions, ordained the first bishop (Pquida) of Adiabene and Assyria. Addai must, therefore, have been contemporary with the second generation of Christians, and may very well have known the first Apostles.

This confirms our belief in the fact that the coming of Christianity was like a volcanic eruption. It not only put forth a few big stones in one direction, but an unaccountable mass of glowing material on all sides. First of all, it was carried along the old trade-routes, and by just ordinary, now anonymous, Christians. It did not take a long time before these had crossed the Euphrates River, and hence were outside the Roman Empire and, in consequence, also out of touch with the life and vicissitudes of the great Church. Here their development was in many respects fundamentally different from that of Western Christianity. In the first place, their language was largely Syriac, and remained so down through the ages. For this reason the New Testament had to be translated into this tongue from the original Greek, although Aramaic Syriac was the language of the Lord and of the Palestinian disciples. In the second place, the early Christians lived to a large extent as a minority group inside a foreign civilization. Their lords in Mesopotamia and in Persia were at first the Parthians, who in 225 A. D. were supplanted by the new Persian Empire (the Sassanids), and they in turn ultimately succumbed to the Mohammedan Arabs. The Persians were almost constantly

at war with the Roman government. As long as the Christians were subject to persecution by Rome, the eastern Christians fared well, but as soon as Constantine arose and Christianity became the religion of the Roman court, the fate of the Christians under Persian rule was radically altered. They then immediately became suspected of being allies of the enemy, and so passed through centuries of the most cruel and crushing persecutions, often under the leadership of the Zoroastrian priests (*Mobeds*).

In the book mentioned above we have an account of one of the many persecutions of the Christians of the Persian Empire, of which the Martyr Acts tell:

"Then the Head-Mobed commanded to take them to the place where their fellow Christians had been killed the previous day. Thousands of people, soldiers and citizens of Karka went out with them, one stepped on the other in order to see the great crowds of martyrs, who amounted to a great number. When they went out one heard in the courts of Karka different tunes of hymns and psalms (sung) by men and women. Many murderers had been taken from their prison of Karka to kill them. In spite of this they were not sufficient to kill all on a Monday."

"Many Christians who came from different places along the way, and soldiers who came by in order to see the execution of the martyrs, pulled off their clothes, and stepped in among the martyrs and said: 'We also belong to these Christians,' and thus were killed."

These experiences contributed to forming the character of this Church. It was constantly baptized in blood and therefore went through many cleansings. But very few people wish for persecutions, and the threat of them must have been a constant temptation to go as far as possible in accommodating oneself to the ideas of the pagan rulers. And here the step towards religious compromise is not a long one.

The remarkable thing is that the Church held together as well as it did. This was due to a large extent to the organization under bishops and archbishops, and finally under a Patriarch (*Katholicos*), whose seat was in Baghdad. Through him the government in times of peace and recognition dealt with the Christian community in the

same way as the Turkish government later dealt with non-Mohammedan minorities.

As to doctrine, these eastern Christians, owing to their life outside the main western churches, lived very much unaffected by the strife in the Greek and Roman churches. They knew little of the Council of Nicea, and even in the controversy a hundred years later about Nestorius they were not involved. It was not till a later time, on account of affinity with Antiochean theology, that they adopted his particular kind of theology, with a clear, absolute distinction between the human and divine elements in Christ. This step taken, they were to a certain extent called Nestorians, and it is under this new name that they are mostly known, but other names, like the Syrian Christians, the Persian Christians, the Assyrian Christians, the Eastern Christians, or, as in India, the Thomas Christians, have also been applied to them.

Space forbids us to enter into their special doctrines or customs. We may only notice that they were absolutely against all pictorial art, also that with them there was no strict celibacy. Priests might marry. On the other hand, the monastic life was highly esteemed, and undoubtedly put its stamp on their faith and outlook on life. We have extensive reports about the life in a monastery at Adiabene, by a later Bishop Thomas, and from his book, "The Book of Governors," we give the following quotation about a saint by the name of Mar Cyriacus:

"This blessed man, Cyriacus, was descended from a family of Gebhilta, an orthodox city in the country of Tarihan, and he was the son of wealthy people who were diligent worshippers in the fear of God. Through the care of his parents he was trained in the doctrine of the church of their native city, before the famous and much enlightened teacher Rabban Gurya . . . . and wishing to lead the life of an ascetic and to inscribe himself for spiritual labor among the hosts of those who do battle against the body and the lusts thereof, he heard concerning this holy monastery from his teacher . . . . . who had learned from Rabban Babhai concerning its famous and holy men and how their course of life shone with

splendour, for Rabban Babhai drew every man to the sight of the glorious light of their excellent virtues. . . . . "

It should be noted that in spite of the ascetic ideals of the church, it also had a remarkable veneration for scholarship. Its college or university, first in Edessa and later in Nisibis, was a great center of learning. And the Nestorians became the great mediators between the East and the West. It was through them that the Arabs became acquainted with Greek philosophy, and their influence on the development of Mohammedan thought has become increasingly clear. A special science they excelled in was medicine, and as physicians they were famous.

We have then before us a form of Christianity which in many respects differs from ours. It had probably little understanding of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. It was strongly monotheistic, anti-idolatrous, with a high appreciation of ascetic virtues, coupled with constant temptations to temporize with the powers that be. It was a church with a sincere veneration for learning, with deep and lasting experiences of the price which it cost to be a Christian, and for that reason, as its liturgy shows, always living in the memory of the saints and martyrs, between whom and the living believers there was only a thin veil.

Its members had these characteristics and also one more. They were ardent missionaries. A faith that cost so much as theirs must also be worth propagating. They became the missionaries of Asia. From the south of India to the borders of Siberia, and from the Euphrates to the Yellow River, it was possible for a Christian of the year 800 A. D. to wander, finding brethren of the faith. These were all bound together in loyalty to the Patriarch in Baghdad, and they had their archbishops appointed or approved by him. These leaders were also supposed to attend Church Councils at Baghdad at certain intervals. Those living farthest away were, however, after a time exempted.

Largely through the records of the Patriarch and other sources in the western part of the church, we can now trace the spread of Christianity eastwards. Before 196 A. D.,

they are mentioned in Bactria, part of the present Afghanistan, where in 588 A. D. Herat is recorded as having a bishop; and before 250 A. D. we find them among the Turks on the Oxus, in the present Western Turkestan. Some time later, Hun and Mongolian tribes were Christianized, and rumors of these conversions came back to Europe later in the form of the tale of Prester John, who was said to be a king ruling a Christian country far off in the misty East. This tale was probably a spur to many of the travels undertaken in the Middle Ages.

But long before this, Christianity had also reached China. From the Sianfu inscription we learn that a Nestorian came in the year 635 A. D., to the then capital of China, and was well received by the Emperor.

Before we follow this clue, we must glance at the conditions prevailing in China at this time. It was then at one of the peaks of its history—under the Tang dynasty (seventh to tenth century) which extended its sway from Korea to the shores of the Caspian Sea, while its fleets sailed into the Persian Gulf to fight against Arabs. Mohammedans began at this time to settle in China, probably in Canton and in the Northwest. This period of history was also one of great cultural development. We have then the first mention of the Han-lin. The earliest authentic paintings extant are probably from this time. Then famous poets, like Li Po, lived and wrote. From of old the Chinese had been known in the West as "Seres," the silk people, and this and other valuable products drew people here from all quarters of the world. It was then possible to travel from Western Asia to China, because the government held the trade routes through Central Asia, and it was fairly safe to travel and trade. As soon, however, as the Chinese government lost its hold on the Central Asian provinces, the routes between East and West were cut, and travel became impossible. Intercourse between China and the West before the discovery of the sea-route depended largely upon the question of the ownership of the overland trade-routes. When China was strong,

she held Central Asia and welcomed foreigners. When she grew weak, she lost control over this region and became averse to foreign intercourse.

Although in the Tang dynasty intercourse was possible, it was by no means easy. Even in our day, to cross Central Asia is not easy—how must it have been before the discovery of all our modern conveniences? The difficulty of travel also affected the time element. A trip from the Mediterranean basin to the central provinces of China might occupy as much as three years. Marco Polo with his father and uncle started in 1271, but did not reach Pekin until 1275. In the Sianfu inscription we have another indication of the slowness of travel, this time in the case of news. This inscription states that it was written on February 4th, 781, in the days of the Patriarch Hanaishu. But, as we know from western sources, this patriarch died in 779 or 780. Thus the news of his death had not reached China two years later. The first resident Catholic missionary in Pekin, John of Monte Corvino, tells rather mournfully in a letter, written in 1305 and still preserved, that for twelve years he had heard nothing from the church in the west. This element of distance, both in time and space, profoundly affected the work of the missionaries of the Nestorian church. In the first place they had to be left largely to themselves. They lacked the contact with their fellow-Christians in the West, the inspiration and correction which this could have given. Their Christian living and doctrine might very easily fall below their own standard and principles. Thus it seems probable that they were not as strongly opposed to pictorial representations as their mother church, and they appear also to have accepted a New Testament of a somewhat larger extent than the one the older church had.

Furthermore, they could rely on no help from their home constituency for their support. They might and probably did obtain occasional help from resident Syrian merchants or from new arrivals from the West. But even if they started out with a liberal supply of money, and

were allowed to reach China without being robbed (which mournful tales of travellers show was by no means certain), this supply must soon have disappeared. To support themselves by trade was perhaps possible, but then they would have to leave the country for long periods of absence. If for no other reason than the financial one, they were therefore dependent on the government or some liberal benefactor immediately on arrival. This accounts for the fact that all the early arrivals made directly for the capital. And when they presented themselves at court, it was, of course, best to come with as much pomp as possible, as nominal ambassadors of some friendly power in the West. We do not know how the Tang Emperors supported such people, but from the Mongol, or Yuan, dynasty we have an interesting account, by one of the earliest Catholic missionaries, of this stipend. He says: "We obtained an *alafa* from the emperor for our food and clothing. An *alafa* is an allowance for expenses, which the emperor grants to the envoys of princes, to orators, warriors, different kinds of artists, *jongleurs,* paupers, and all sorts of people of all sorts of conditions." Therefore the missionaries were constantly tempted to associate themselves as closely as possible with the powers that be.

This, again, made them share the fate of these powers. The fall of a dynasty would fundamentally affect the fate of missionaries from abroad dependent on the fallen government. They would probably as a rule have to make themselves invisible, at least for a time, until a chance came to permit them to approach the new rulers.

But such an approach would have to be made very tactfully, to say the least. When your very existence is dependent on obtaining the tolerant assistance of a medieval ruler, you are strongly tempted to tone down your message. You do not begin by telling him that he stands in need of conversion, nor that Christ has come with a sword to divide people, and that those who are not for Him are against Him. But you will at least be tempted to say that "Here we have a doctrine that will in no way upset things

as they are; it is just the thing to conserve peace and promote the happiness of everyone within the realm. It is a philosophy which in all respects is like your own honored wisdom, only perhaps, a little better." The temptation would be to slur over all unpleasant differences and to emphasize as strongly as possible the similarities, and therefore to encourage religious syncretism.

We can see this from our point of vantage. We can criticise, and rightly so. We must. But I am afraid that some of us Western missionaries would not have stood the test if we had been in the same position. The thing for us to do is to take our lesson humbly, and profit by the mistakes made by others.

One more fact we may note in order to understand the attitude of the Nestorians in China. Nestorianism had always been the religion of subject minorities. The attitude of self-abasement, of silence, of roundabout ways seemed the natural one in their home churches. How much more so in an entirely foreign country! Nestorianism is one of the few, if not the only one, of the great branches of Christendom, which never at any time in its history had been a state religion. They had never been able to attain that self-reliance and freedom which come to churches in alliance with or in friendly relation to the state. They had never lived under an even nominally Christian civilization. How much they lost or gained by this we cannot say, only that their position for this reason was fundamentally different from ours.

Let us now try to picture the arrival of the first Nestorian missionary. In 635, during the reign of the great emperor Tai Tsung (627-650) it was one day announced that a foreigner by the name of Olopen had arrived from the great western kingdom and asked for an audience. The emperor despatched one of his highest military officers Fang Hsuan Ling, with a military guard of honor, to receive him at the western suburb of Sianfu. Fang was probably chosen on account of his knowledge of western languages. From here the foreigner was escorted

in state to the palace, where, prostrating himself, he presented a petition in his own language to the emperor. He brought both holy books and images which he offered to the august ruler, and asked permission to explain them, in order to show their true meaning. We can imagine that he also suggested that if the son of Heaven found them good, he would give the missionary a place in which he could practise virtue, expound the truth, and pray for the well-being of the Middle Kingdom.

His petition was translated by Fang Hsuan Ling and Wei Cheng. It may be that they also assisted in the ensuing translation of the scriptures. It may also be that there were at that time Syrian traders in Sianfu, who were sufficiently versed both in Syriac and in Chinese to do it. These books were probably not the Bible, at least not the whole of it, but suitable tracts that would appeal to the new audience and were selections from the scriptures. Nestorian books of this nature have recently been unearthed in Fun-huang in Kansu, and throw new and interesting light on the contents of the teachings of the Nestorians. An example of this kind of scripture is the following selection from a Bible tract:

"After Mi-shih-he (Messiah) had entered the water, when he came out of the stream, then there was the Holy Spirit coming from heaven in appearance like a dove, and he sat upon Mi-shih-he. (A voice) was heard in empty space saying 'Mi-shih-he is my son'; all people who are in the world must take Mi-shih-he to restrain them and guide them all to do good. Mi-shih-he then gave the people the way to Heaven; for it was the Lord's will to dispose the people of the world not to serve inferior spirits. Then there were people who heard these words: 'Do not serve inferior spirits nor do evil' and forthwith believed the good life. Mi-shih-he from twelve years until more than thirty-two years sought whatever people were of evil life and sent them to turn toward good life and the right way. Mi-shih-he also had twelve disciples. . . . . "

This is of course no direct quotation from the canonical Gospels, nor from Tatian's Diatessaron. We can also say with considerable confidence that there must have been hymns among them. If they were not translated immediately on arrival, this was done shortly afterwards, for

among the discoveries in Kansu was also a Chinese rendering of the Syriac version of the Gloria in Excelsis, the oldest Christian hymn, based on the praise of the angels on Christmas eve. This hymn can be sung to "Jesus, Lover of my soul," and is the oldest Christian Chinese hymn.

The Emperor's examination of the spiritual credentials of Olopen had such a favorable result that he issued an edict (found both in the Sianfu inscription and in a Chinese source) to the effect that a monastery should be built in Sianfu with room for twenty-one monks, who probably formed the escort of Olopen. In order to maintain the state-approved character of this institution, a picture of the emperor was painted on the walls. Although it is not definitely stated, we may assume that incense was burnt before it daily.

The favor of this emperor-patron was maintained by his successor (Kao Tsung), who founded churches or monasteries in each *"chou,"* which as far as I understand would imply over one hundred and ninety, if the language here is not a mere poetical exaggeration. This seems a surprising figure, but not impossible in view of the imperial favor, which also showed itself in giving Olopen the high sounding title of "Great spiritual Lord, Protector of the Empire." The administration of the church was probably in his hands, and he worked more or less independently of his home church.

This promising expansion was, however, checked for a while. For in 684 a woman appeared on the scene with a very different attitude to that of the former emperor. This was the widow of the late ruler. Her name was Wu-Hou. In 684 she deposed her older son and put on the throne a younger one, but for all practical purposes she was the real ruler for twenty years. Her sympathy was all with the Buddhists, which was not so strange, as one of her lovers was a Buddhist priest. The Nestorians were subject to slander and vilification, and their churches were either taken from them or destroyed, in spite of efforts made by some of their own leaders from abroad.

When the great Emperor Hsuan Tsung (713-756) ascended the throne, the church began to prosper once again. He ordered some of his nobles to supervise the restoring of the churches, and also to have the pictures of the emperors put up again. The life of the church was strengthened by the arrival of reinforcements from abroad. At this time we also hear about the appointment of the first metropolitan archbishop of China. This took place at the time of the patriarch Saliba-Zacha (714-728). And this presupposes from six to twelve subordinate bishops, who were real ones, as the Nestorians never accepted titular bishops. From Chinese sources we learn about arrivals from abroad in the year 745. This was a delegation of seven church leaders. They were received in a very friendly manner. Again Nestorians lived close to the court. And the emperor showed his favor by writing the inscription over the main gate of the monastery in Sianfu, where the monks were now "practising virtue." But by far the greatest assistance was given by the arrival of a man called Izd-buzid from Balkh in Afghanistan. Drawn by the rumors of the great empire of China, he came to the court at Sianfu, registered as a subject and servant of the emperor, and was accepted for important positions. He became an aid to one of China's most famous generals, Kuo Tzi I, and took part in the latter's campaigns with marked success. He was richly rewarded, but preferred to bestow his gifts on the community of the Christians, with whom he had identified himself. He was not only a warrior, but also a bishop, and as such did much to strengthen the church, both by drawing together the priests for meetings and retreats lasting fifty days, and by philanthropic work, which must have recommended the church very strongly to the Chinese public. He seems to have been considered the greatest patron of the church, and it is to a large extent his meritorious acts which the inscription of Sianfu celebrates.

We are, however, dependent on Chinese sources for estimating the value of such a man, and they have not the

merit of objective description. When we come to his son, Adam, whose Chinese name was Ching-ching, we get, as it were, the first glimpse of a personality about whom we can form an independent judgment. For this man was the writer of the Nestorian inscription in Sianfu, which was put up in February, 781. This inscription on a famous stone monument was discovered not later than 1625 in or near Sianfu, where it still is, and it forms our principal source of information about the first two centuries of the Nestorian church in China. It is remarkably well preserved, as the rubbing of it shows, and is so clear that there can be no doubt about the characters. The text itself is, however, so elegant and profoundly literary that it offers an irresistible attraction to students of Chinese, who, on account of the obscurity of the text, can make new translations varying from former ones and still with some measure of plausibility. The literary character of this inscription makes it highly probable that Adam, alias Ching-ching, had been born in China and obtained a Chinese education according to the best classical standards. That his scholarship was not a borrowed one is brought to a point of certainty by the discovery in Japan in 1896 of a note in a Buddhist catalogue of the teaching of Shakyamuni from this period. Here it is related how a Buddhist monk from India by the name of Prajna, after encountering the greatest hardships of sea travel, finally arrived in Sianfu, where he met Ching-ching. We quote here the text:

"With the help of Ching-ching, a Persian monk of the Ta-chin monastery, he translated the Satparamita Sutra from a *hu* copy, dividing it into seven chapters. Since at that time Prajna was unfamiliar with the *hu* language and did not yet understand the speech of Tang, and Ching-ching did not know Sanskrit nor understand the Buddhist doctrine, though they professed to have made a translation, they had not caught half the gems. They were seeking for vain glory with no thought of doing good. They composed and presented a memorial with the intention and hope that (their work) would be published. His Majesty, endued with learning and intelligence, and reverencing the Law of Buddha, examined their translation. The doctrine was obscure, the style

indifferent. Since a Buddhist convent and a monastery of Ta-chin monks differ in customs and are wholly opposed to one another in their religious practices, Ching-ching must preach the teaching of the Messiah and the Buddhist monk make known the Sutra of Buddha. We wish to have religious teaching well defined, that men may have no uncertainty. Truth and error are not the same. The Ching and the Wei (a clear and a muddy stream) are not the same."

The third evidence of Ching-ching's activity we have in the books found by Pelliot in Tun-huang in Kansu in 1908. I have already referred to them. The Christian hymn had already been given to the public by Saeki. A facsimile of this and a list of Christian books is found in Moule's book. Recently, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (North China Branch) for 1932 and 1933, Saeki has translated some more of the finds, which to the student of the spiritual life of the Nestorian church are of profound interest. The list of Christian books offers problems of its own, which I cannot here enter into, but I shall call attention to the fact that at the end of the list we have the following note: "We respectfully note with regard to the list of all the books, that the religious books of this church of Ta-chin are in all five hundred and thirty works, and they are all on *patra* leaves in the Indian tongue. In the ninth Cheng-kuan year of the Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang, Olopen, a monk of great virtue from the West came to China and presented a petition to the Emperor in his native tongue. Tang Hsuan Ling and Wei Cheng made known the interpretation of the words of the petition. Later, by imperial order, the monk of great virtue, Ching-ching of this church, obtained by translation the above thirty and more rolls of books. The greater number is all on *patra* leaves or on leather in wrappers still not translated." This last fact does not indicate any very great literary activity. We can, however, form an estimate of Adam, Ching-ching. He must have been a man who, in addition to being a Chinese scholar, was a man of great catholicity with regard to other religions. It seems to us, of too great catholicity. For a Christian missionary to help in propagating Bud-

dhism shows a lack of definite convictions which must have had a baneful influence on the Christian church. As the Buddhist inscription itself says: "Truth and Error are not the same." This does not mean intolerance, but clearness of conviction and thinking. The absence of these in Adam, it seems to me, we also find in the Nestorian Sianfu inscription itself, where Buddhist terms are applied to a large extent, and where, on the other hand, the central fact of Christianity, the Crucifixion of Christ, is passed over in this way: "He hung up a brilliant sun to take by storm the halls of darkness; the wiles of the devil were then all destroyed. He rowed the boat of mercy to go up to the palaces of light; those who have souls were then completely saved. His mighty works thus finished, He ascended at midday to the spiritual sphere. Of scriptures he left twenty-seven books . . . . "

I ought to add, however, that this catholicity of taste and slurring over the cross cannot be brought as an unqualified accusation against the whole Nestorian church. In the first place, they used the cross as a very common symbol, as we see here on the inscription itself. And in the tract quoted above, the Crucifixion of Christ and his vicarious sacrifice is given with considerable detail and stated definitely: "Thus in charity He gave up His life for the sake of mankind, suffering death for them." This is confirmed by still a third of the Tun-huang manuscripts: "He provided thus for all mankind before He left that world of His. In quest of the liberation of mankind from their sins there was no other suitable means found. He therefore bore all the sins of mankind, and for them He suffered the punishment Himself. No meritorious deed is necessary (for salvation)." This point of view is so different from that which seems to have been Ching-ching's that it has been suggested by Havret that Ching-ching helped in translating the Buddhist Sutra in order to turn it into a Christian book, and this possibility cannot be wholly denied. And it would have the benefit of clearing the reputation of this Nestorian brother!

Be that as it may, Nestorianism and Buddhism probably suffered together in the next great persecution in China. This occurred when the fortunes of the Tang dynasty began to fail, and when people began to look around for causes of failure, and put the blame on the introduction of new and dangerous doctrines. The outstanding foreign doctrine was, of course, Buddhism, which is said at this time to have had over 44,600 monasteries with 265,000 monks and nuns. The beginning of the reaction against it was the Emperor Hsien Tsung's order to bring a famous bone relic of Buddha to the capital and to deposit it within the precincts of the Imperial Palace. This aroused the ire of a scholar by the name of Han Yü, who in 819 addressed a famous memorial to the throne, and thereby started a movement which led in 845 to the famous edict of Wu Tsung ordering the closing of nearly all temples and the confiscating of practically all Buddhist property and the returning to secular life of the monks and nuns. At the end of the edict is also found the statement: "We command that over 3,000 Mu-hu-fu from Ta-tsin shall return to secular life and not meddle with Chinese customs." This refers most probably to Manichaeans and Parsees. There is no direct reference to Nestorians, but it has been thought they were included, even though they be not expressly mentioned, among the Mu-hu-fu. This is not absolutely certain. But that they as of a foreign religion were likely to suffer, is very probable. And, even if they survived the persecution, they would have to go into hiding. Saeki conjectures that they were absorbed into one of the secret societies called the Gold-pill sect. This has, however, met with little or no approval. It is more likely that their separate existence was maintained, and although Chinese sources referring to them are extremely scarce, we have a few scattered notices in foreign works to show that there still were Christians in China. In 852 came the permission for the Metropolitan of China to be absent from the councils every fourth year. In 878, Khanfu, probably Canton, was captured, and a great many Christians, Jews,

Mohammedans and followers of the Persian faith, were massacred. Although we hear that in 987 a monk, who had been sent by the patriarch to China, found only one Christian there, we have other faint proofs that Christianity still existed, for the patriarch Subarjesus (1063-1072) sent, according to western Nestorian sources, Bishop Georgios of Kashgar to Korasan, Segestan and Cathay, where he remained until his death.

About this time, 1007 A. D., a great Turkish tribe, the Keraits, was converted to Christianity through Nestorian merchants. It is their kings who were called "Prester John." Although not in China proper, this is indicative of considerable missionary activity, which quite likely extended to China itself. And from 1060 we have in a local description of Sianfu a reference to a Persian temple built for Olopen as if it still existed. When we take into consideration how exceedingly scanty our knowledge of the Nestorians in China would have been if the Sianfu inscription and the Jun-huang manuscripts had not been discovered and interpreted by foreigners, it seems to me quite possible to assume the existence of Nestorian Christianity in China in the period between the Tang and the Mongol dynasty (920-1278), a little more than three hundred years. And for its existence during the latter dynasty there is abundant proof. For now we are in the period of the great Mongol rulers like Genghis Khan and Kublai, under whom large parts of Asia and Europe were united into the greatest continuous empire the world has ever seen. Again a strong government controlled the Central Asia trade-routes, being, in addition, of foreign origin. Again trade became fairly easy and safe, and now we hear definitely of Europeans also coming to China, and we have extensive and immensely interesting accounts of their visits to Cathay which have been preserved. Foremost is, of course, that of Marco Polo, but of nearly equal interest are those of the early Franciscan missionaries or ambassadors of the Pope, like Monte Corvino, Oderic of Friuli, Plano Carpini and William of Ruysbroeck. We have

even a handbook of travel from Europe to Cathay, where there is the astounding statement: "The road you travel from Tana to Cathay is perfectly safe, whether by day or by night, according to what the merchants say who have used it." These tales read like novels, and are hereby recommended without any commission to the public. In most of these we have references to Nestorians being in China, and of their having considerable influence. Genghis Khan let his son Tuli marry a Kerait princess (the Keraits had become Christians in the beginning of the eleventh century—1007) and she became the mother of the great Khans Mangu, Hulagu, whose wife was a Christian, and Khubilai. We may note that at this time besides the Keraits, who were of Turkish nationality, the Onguts, a Mongolian tribe, were also Christian, and so were also the Uighurs, another Turkish tribe in inner Mongolia. The Uighur script was modelled on Syriac, and later became the basis of the Mongolian alphabet.

The medieval foreign sources make it clear that the Nestorians were scattered in many parts of China. Cambaluc (Pekin) was the seat of a metropolitan. In 1289 Khubilai established an office to supervise the Christians. Marco Polo refers to Christians in Hangchow, Yangchow, in Yunnan and at Chinkiang, etc. In this last place the cause was promoted by a governor by the name of Mar Sergius, a physician, from Samarkand. He built seven churches or monasteries in Chinkiang and Hangchow. The existence of Christianity there is also confirmed from Chinese sources, which say there were twenty-three Christian families in and around Chinkiang, with one hundred and sixty-six members and one hundred and nine slaves. From these we learn also how these establishments were maintained. Mar Sergius obtained by imperial grant about thirty *ching* of land, equivalent to 3,000 *mou,* for their permanent support. In addition, 3,400 *mou* were bought privately for the same purpose. We learn further from the same source that the inmates of these monasteries were all foreigners. They are given the name

Yeh-li-ko-wen, which was both a racial and a religious term. As a teacher for them, Mar Sergius invited a man from the land of Buddha, and we may here have an indication of connection with the Thomas Christians in South India. This is not improbable when we realize that we are dealing with Hangchow, which may have had intercourse with India by sea. Besides Mar Sergius, other Nestorian Christians are mentioned in government positions in Kiangsi and Hunan. But they were probably all foreigners, and their fate was most intimately bound up with that of the government, so that when the wind changed at court, as it did very soon, they began to suffer. In 1309-1311, by imperial decree, Buddhists took back two of the monasteries at Chinkiang, cleared them of everything Christian, and reestablished their cult with images; also the temple land was taken back. Chao Meng Fu was ordered to compose a special tablet to commemorate this event. Although probably most Christian relics have disappeared, some may be left, for Chinkiang awaits systematic archaeological investigations.

A more pleasing picture of Nestorian Christianity is given in a partly Persian, partly Syrian record published in a French translation for the first time in 1882, by Bedjan. Two other books dealing with it are The History of Yaballaha III (1927) and The Monks of Kublai Khan, by Wallis (1928).

The record is about two Uighur Christians. The first of them, born in Cambaluc of Christian parents, is Bar Sauma. He was a model son, studied, married, and entered the priesthood, but when he was twenty years old, "the divine fire was lighted in his heart and burnt out the roots of sin there. He cleansed his white soul from all defilement and meanness, he cherished in fact the love of his master, and he would not look back after having put his hand to the plough. He rejected entirely the shadow of the world and completely renounced his desires." After a while he distributed his property and received the tonsure from the hands of Mar Giwargis, the Metropolitan in

Pekin. He spent a long time in seclusion in the Western hills, and was joined here by a young man named Mark, who was son of an archdeacon fifteen days' journey away, in Shansi. After seven years, Mark also received the tonsure and devoted himself to works of ascetism. Some time later the two friends decided to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1278). In Baghdad they met the Patriarch of their church, who gave them letters to Palestine. But they had to return to Mesopotamia, as the road was closed. The Patriarch then appointed Mark Metropolitan of China, with the name of Jabalaha, although he was only thirty-five years old. Before he could start, the Patriarch himself died, and Mark was chosen to succeed him, principally on account of his knowledge of Mongolian. He was consecrated in 1281 under the name of Yabalaha the Third, and occupied this position until his death in 1317. His friend Bar Sauma was chosen by Arghun, the Mongol Khan, as his special ambassador to the West, and as such he visited Rome and saw the Pope. He went to Paris, was received by Philip the Fair and also by the king of Alanguitar (Angleterre) in Kasonia (Gascony). This king was Edward the First. Here we have, as far as I know, the first connection between China and England.

This seems in a way to have been the climax of the Nestorian Church in China and Asia. But, as we have seen, its fortunes were too intimately connected with those of the Mongol Dynasty, and when that dynasty fell, the result was similar to that on similar occasions in the past. The church, being foreign, was suppressed. The trade routes through Central Asia were closed, since no travelling was possible. So completely, in fact, was the Ming Dynasty shut off from the rest of the world, that no information of the overthrow of the Mongol Dynasty had reached Columbus when he set out to find the westward sea route to Asia a hundred and thirty years later, for he carried letters from his sovereign to the great Khan.

What happened then to the Nestorians? They can hardly have disappeared at once, especially in the North-

west. For when the first Catholic missionaries of modern times, Matheo Ricci and others (about 1600 A. D.) came to Peking, they discovered faint signs that Christianity had existed within a generation or two of their arrival. If this is so, we may with a certain amount of justification say that Christianity has been known in some part of China ever since the time of its introduction into England by Augustine.

Why did it disappear? This is a difficult question to answer. We can suggest only one fact which has seemed to me of great importance. It was predominantly a foreign religion of a small group of outsiders. One of my friends, a scholar in history, has called it a concession church for Syrian traders. This, I believe, is going a little too far. The fact that books were translated into Chinese, and the excellence of the Chinese of the Sianfu inscription, point to a certain attempt at missionary activity, carried on so strongly in other parts of Asia. But in China it was probably insignificant. It rested too much on court protection, and was to a large extent a foreign cult, too dependent on fresh life from abroad. When these sources dried up, this little minority also withered.

This church had its mission in other areas, where it either fulfilled it or failed. There is still left a group of churches in South India, and in their old center of Assyria a flock of ten thousand souls, about to settle in Brazil.

How utterly futile, if measured by our standards of impact on present-day life! Where can traces of its influences be seen? Where are its cultural achievements? Nowhere, as far as we know. And if we had to leave the matter here, it would be sad. But this is our imperfect standard of judgment. If the importance of a church does not lie in its cultural remnants, its organization, or its power, but in the changes in the innermost recesses of human souls—and there it does lie—we may still speak with veneration and respect of a great missionary church.

Shekow, China STEN BUGGE.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS ON THE MOSLEM HERESY

[John of Damascus (Johannes Damascenus), an eminent theologian of the Eastern Church, derives his surname from Damascus, where he was born about the close of the seventh century. His Arabic name was al-Mansur (the victor), and he received the epithet Chrysorrhoas (gold-pouring) on account of his eloquence. His father Sergius, a Christian, held high office under the Saracen caliph, in which he was succeeded by his son. John wrote (c. 730) several treatises in defence of image-worship, which the emperor, Leo the Isaurian, was making strenuous efforts to suppress. He then surrendered his worldly goods, and betook himself to the monastery of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem, where he spent the rest of his life. He was ordained priest by the patriarch of Jerusalem. In his last years he travelled through Syria, contending against the iconoclasts, and visited Constantinople at the imminent risk of his life during the reign of Constantine Copronymus. With him the "mysteries," the entire ritual, are an integral part of the Orthodox system, and all dogma culminates in image-worship. He died probably about 752.

One of his more important books is entitled *De Haeresibus* which, among other tractates, contains an account of Islam. According to Keller "this brief treatise was the armory for all future controversial writings against Islam in the Eastern church." The translation given below was made by the Rev. John W. Voorhis from the Greek text of J. P. Migne—*Patrologia Graeca*—vol. 94, 1864, cols. 764-773; sec. 101, Latin text in parallel columns.

Professor Richard Bell of Edinburgh University, in his book "The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment," refers also to John of Damascus, pp. 207-211:

"As showing how that took place I take two things which occur in the works of John of Damascus. John's father was a Christian who was employed in an official position at the court of the Omayyad caliphs at Damascus. He himself in early life occupied a similar position, and began his literary activity there before he withdrew to the monastery of Saba where the latter part of his life was spent. In the introduction to his great dogmatic work in which he treats of the heresies, he devotes a section to Islam. There is also included in his works a Dialogue with a Saracen, which is a kind of manual

for the guidance of Christians in their arguments with Muhammadans. It is not the only work of that kind which has come down to us from that early time. It is not perhaps so interesting as we might expect from the situation to which it belongs. But the very fact of such a work having been composed is itself suggestive. It proves what in itself is inherently likely—that arguments of that kind were fairly frequent."

We hope to give our readers a translation of this "Dialogue with a Saracen" later.—EDITOR].

There is also, prevailing until now, the deceptive [1] error [2] of the Ishmaelites, a fore-runner of the Antichrist. It takes its origin from Ishmael, who was born by Hagar to Abraham; for which reason they are called Hagarenes and Ishmaelites. But they call themselves Saracens, as those (sent away) empty by Sara (Σάρρας κενούς), [3] because of that which was said by Hagar to the angel, "Sara sent me away empty (Σαρρα κενήν)." [4] These, then, served idols, and worshipped the morning [5] star and Aphrodite, whom they also named in their own tongue "Chabar," [6] which indeed signifies "great." Accordingly until the times of Heraclius they openly served idols. From that time until now a false prophet arose for them, surnamed Mamed, who, having happened upon the Old and New Testament, in all likelihood through association with an Arian monk, organized his own sect. And when by a pretence of godliness he had gained the favor of [7] the people, he declared that a scripture [8] had been brought down to him from heaven. Wherefore when he had inscribed in his book [9] certain things worthy of ridicule, he gave it to them as an object to be reverenced.

He says there is one God, maker of all things, not begotten nor begetting (Koran 112:3). He says that Christ is a Word of God and His spirit (4:169), but

[1] Lit.—"people-deceiving."

[2] σκεία taken as σκία. Figuratively, spiritual darkness or error. cp. Mt. 4:16, Lu. 1:79, Jn. 1:5 and 8:12, I Jn. 1:5 and 2:8-11. The Latin text here uses *"superstitio."*

[3] Transliterated to English—Sara (k) cenous.

[4] Transliterated to English—Sara (k)cenen.

[5] Lit.—"morning-bearing."

[6] Arabic *"akhbar"* means "greater."

[7] Lit.—"put himself into the hands of." Thus, thrust himself upon. Perhaps, "foisted himself upon."

[8] Lit.—"a writing," and so regularly.

[9] Lit.—"in the book with him."

created (3:52) and a servant[10] (43:59); and that he was born without seed from Mary, the sister of Moses and Aaron (19:29). For the Word of God and the Spirit came in unto Mary and she bare Jesus (4:169) (19:16-21), a prophet and a servant of God (43:59); and that the Jews unlawfully determined to crucify him, and, when they had seized him, they crucified him in appearance only (4:156);[11] but the Christ himself was not crucified, nor did he die; for God took him into heaven unto Himself (4:156) because He loved him. And this he says, that, when Christ had come up (5:116) into the heavens, God asked him, saying; "O Jesus, did you say, 'I am Son of God, and God'?" And Jesus answered, "Be gracious to me, Lord; you know that I said not so, nor did I count myself above being your servant (4:170); but erring[12] men wrote that I said this thing,[13] and spoke falsely against me and have been deceived." And God answered and said to him, "I know that you did not say this thing."[13] And in this book he tells of many other marvels, worthy of ridicule, and he insolently boasts[14] that this scripture was brought to him from God. But then we say, "Who is the witness that God gave a scripture to him? Who of the prophets foretold that such a prophet would arise?" And they are quite at a loss. (But we point out in contrast that) Moses received the law when God appeared at Mt. Sinai in the sight of all the people [in cloud and fire, in darkness and storm; and that all the prophets, beginning with Moses and in succession, foretold the advent of Christ and that the Christ was God, and that a Son of God would come in the flesh, be crucified, die, and be raised up, and that this one would judge[15] the living and the dead. And then we say,[16] "How is it that your prophet did not so come, with others bearing testimony concerning him; and how is it

[10] Or—"but indeed a created servant."
[11] Lit.—(they crucified) his shadow, form, outward appearance. Gr. *σκίαν*.
[12] Lit.—"men, the transgressors."
[13] Lit.—word.
[14] The Greek verb (*φρυάττομαι*) is properly used of spirited horses; to neigh or snort.
[15] Lit.—"would be judge of."
[16] Lit.—"When we say—they reply."

that God did not give to him the scripture, of which you speak, when you were present, as God gave the law to Moses while the people looked on and the mountain smoked, that you also might have certainty?" They reply that God does as He wishes. This, we say, we know; but in what manner did this scripture come down to your prophet, we ask. They answer that at a time [17] when he fell asleep the scripture came down upon him. In jest we say to them that since he received this scripture while he was asleep and since he was not sensible of the divine influence, there was fulfilled in him (the saying) of the popular proverb [18] . . . . .]. [19]

Again we ask, [20] "How is it that, when he commanded us (you?) in your scripture to do nothing or to receive nothing without witnesses, you did not inquire of him: 'First, do you yourself show through witnesses that you are a prophet and that you have come forth from God; and what scripture testifies concerning you?' They keep silent, having been put to shame. (Then we point out further.) Forasmuch as it is not lawful for you to marry a wife without witnesses, or to do business, or to acquire (possessions); and (forasmuch as) you neither allow one to receive an ass or any beast without witnesses; so indeed (it is that) you receive wives, possessions, asses and the rest with witnesses; but faith alone and scripture you receive without witness. For the one who delivered this scripture to you has no verification from any source, nor is any previous witness to him known; yet, while he was asleep, he received this (scripture).

And they call us *"Hetairiastai"* (Associators); [21] because, they say, we set beside God an associate when we say that Christ is Son of God and God. To whom we say that the prophets and the Scripture transmitted this; and you receive the prophets, as you stoutly insist. If then we say wrongly that Christ is the Son of God, it is they who

[17] Lit.—"at such a time."
[18] The proverb is wanting in all the authorities for the text.
[19] That which is enclosed in brackets is lacking in 2 Reg. and in older translations.
[20] Lit.—"Again when we ask . . they keep silent."
[21] "A name given to the Christians by the Mohammedans, because the former believe that God has a compeer." See Sophocles' Lexicon of Roman and Byzantine Periods.

taught and delivered this to us. And some of them say that when we have read such things into [22] the prophets, we then attribute such things to them. Others say that the Hebrews, because they hated us, deceived us by writing those things as though they had been written by the prophets in order that we might be destroyed.

Again we say to them; "Since you say that Christ is Word of God and Spirit, how is it that you revile us as *Hetairiastai?* For the Word and the Spirit are not separated from the one in whom they are by nature. If therefore His Word is in God, it is evident that the Word is also God. But if the Word is outside of God, then according to you God is without reason and without life. [23] And so, fearing to provide an Associate for God, you have mutilated Him. It were better for you to say that He has an Associate than to mutilate Him, and to treat Him as stone, or wood, or some insensible thing. [24] Wherefore [25] you speak falsely of us when you call us *"Hetairiastai";* but we call you *"Koptai"* (Mutilators) of God.

And they malign us as being idolaters because we bow before [26] the cross, which indeed they despise. But we say to them; "How is it then that you attach such significance to a stone in your Kabatha, [27] that you kiss it and embrace it?" And certain of them say that upon it Abraham had intercourse with Hagar; and others that to it he fastened his camel when he was about to sacrifice Isaac. To them we reply, "The Scripture says that the mountain was wooded, [28] and pieces of wood were there, some of which, when he had split it for the burnt offering, Abraham laid upon Isaac; and that he left the asses behind with the servants. Why are you so foolish? For there is not much wood to be found there, [29] nor do asses travel through

[22] Lit.—"allegorized."

[23] ἄλογος-ἄπνους—without word and breath (i. e., life or spirit). The writer has just used above λογος and πνεῦμα. The initial α has a negative force.

[24] Lit.—"some of the insensible (or senseless) things."

[25] Lit.—"so that."

[26] Lit.—"worship."

[27] Probably for the Kaaba.

[28] That is, with growing, living wood i.e., trees; in contrast to the following word that refers to cut wood, split pieces of wood.

[29] That is, around the Kaaba.

there."[30] They are put to shame. Nevertheless they say it is the stone of Abraham. Then we say, "Let it be Abraham's (stone) as you foolishly maintain. But are you not ashamed when you kiss it simply because Abraham had intercourse with a wife[31] upon it or because he fastened a camel to it; yet you take us to task because we worship before the cross of Christ through which[32] the power of demons and the deceit of the devil have been destroyed?" And this stone, about which they speak, is the head of Aphrodite whom they worship, whom they call Chaber; (for) upon this stone, even until now, an engraved image is apparent to those who scrutinize it carefully.

This Mamed, as has been said, drew up many foolish sayings; and to each of these he gave a title, such as the passage[33] "Concerning the Woman." In this (passage) he permits by law that one openly may take four wives, and may take a thousand concubines if he is able, or as many as his hand can support beyond the four wives (4:3); and he permits by law that one may divorce whomsoever he pleases and that, should he desire it, for such cause[34] one may take another. Mamed had a co-worker named Zeid.[35] This man had a beautiful wife whom Mamed desired. When they were seated together, Mamed said, "O thou, God has commanded me to take your wife." And he replied; "Thou art an apostle; do as God has said to you, take my wife." Or rather, that we may tell it from the beginning,[36] he said to him; "God commanded me that you should divorce your wife." And he divorced her. After many days he said; "But God commanded that I should take her." Then when he had taken her, and when he had committed adultery with her, he made such a law; "Let him who desires it, divorce his wife. But if after the divorcement he shall return to her, let another (first) marry

[30] The Greek is simply, "travel through." Perhaps the meaning is, "travel through so far," i.e., from Palestine to Arabia.
[31] Hagar.
[32] The Greek could mean "through whom" i.e., Christ. But the Latin text reads *"crucem—per quam."*
[33] Lit.—"scripture."
[34] i.e., the mere desire to take another is sufficient cause.
[35] Zaid.
[36] i.e., completely.

her. For it is not lawful (for him) to take her, unless she shall have been married by another (Kor. 2:230). And if indeed a brother divorce her, let his brother, if he be willing, marry her." In the scripture [37] itself he declares such things; "Till the ground which God has given you, and beautify it; and do this thing and in such manner,"—not to say, as he does, things altogether shameful.

Again there is a passage, [38] "Concerning the Camel [39] of God" (17:61; 26:155) of which it says, there was a camel from God; it drank the whole river, and was not able to pass between two mountains because there was not sufficient space. Now, it says, there were people in that place and they drank the water on one day, but the camel drank on the next day (54:28). And when the camel had drunk the water, it nourished them, supplying milk instead of water. Then there arose certain evil men and they killed the camel. But there was a little camel, its offspring, which, (the passage) says, when the mother had been destroyed, cried out to God; and He took it to Himself. To them [40] we say, "Whence was that camel?" They say it was from God. And we say, "Was not another camel brought together with this one?" But they say, "No." "How," we say, "did it bring forth then? For (otherwise) we are confronted with a camel without father, without mother and without genealogy. But when it had brought forth, it suffered evil. Yet there does not appear the one who put the female to the male [41]; and the small camel was taken up. Your prophet, then, to whom you say God spoke, why did he not learn regarding the camel, where it fed, who milked it and took the milk? Was it destroyed when it encountered evil men as the mother; or did it enter into paradise as your forerunner, from which (camel) comes your river of milk about which you talk so foolishly. For you say three rivers flow for you in paradise; of water, of wine and of milk. If the camel, your fore-

[37] i.e., the Koran.
[38] Lit.—"scripture."
[39] Qualifying modifiers indicate the feminine gender for "camel" throughout the passage i.e., "she-camel."
[40] Lit.—"whom."
[41] ὁ βιβάσας—see Liddell and Scott Lexicon, unabridged, 8th ed.

runner, is outside of paradise, it is clear that it has been destroyed by hunger and by thirst, or that others enjoy its milk. In vain therefore does your prophet boast that he associated with God; for the mystery of the camel was not revealed to him. But if it is in paradise, it drinks again the water; and you will dry up for want of water in the midst of the luxury of paradise. But if you desire wine from the river flowing by, since there is no water, for the camel drank it all, in drinking unmixed wine you become inflamed, are overcome with drunkenness and fall asleep; and when you are heavy with sleep and debauched by wine, you miss the pleasures of paradise. How is it then that your prophet did not consider these matters, lest perchance they should befall you in the paradise of luxury? He has not even considered where the camel now lives. But neither did you ask this dreamer to tell you about the three rivers. But we plainly declare to you that your wonderful camel, your forerunner, has entered into the souls of asses, where you also, brutish as you are, are about to go. But there is outer darkness, and punishment unending, a roaring fire, a worm that dieth not, and demons of Tartarus."

Again Mamed says (in) the passage, "Concerning the Table," that Christ asked from God a table, and it was given to him (5:114). For God, it says, said to him, "I have given to you and to yours an incorruptible table."

Again (he gives) a passage, "Concerning a Heifer;" and he says many other foolish things, worthy of ridicule; which, then, it may be fitting to pass by on account of the multiplicity of them. Those who had wives he ordained by law should be circumcised, and he gave commandment not to keep the Sabbath, and not to be baptized; and he gave direction to eat some of the things which are forbidden in the law, and to abstain from some of the others; but the drinking of wine he forbade altogether.

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(The translator desires to acknowledge the helpful suggestions of Professor Dr. W. P. Armstrong).

TABLES TO FIND THE CORRESPONDING DATES OF THE CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM ERAS

Prepared by Maurice Bouyges, S.J.

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These Tables show the exact Christian date (the day of the week as well as the day of the month and the year) for the first day of each Moslem year, and thus permit the rapid calculation of the date of any day whatever.

TABLE I.—CHRISTIAN DATE OF THE FIRST DAY OF EACH MOSLEM YEAR FROM 1 TO 1429 A. H.

(622 to 2008 of Christian era)

According to the chronological system adopted by F. Wuestenfeld, L. de Mas-Latrie and other scholars, in which the Hegira is placed not on the 15th, but on the 16th of July, 622, and in which not the 15th, but the 16th year of the cycles receives the intercalary day.

The Moslem years (those of the Hegira) are read by adding a number from column H (on the right) to a number from line A.

The Christian years are read by adding a number from column C (on the left) to a number from line A.

The first day of a Moslem year (H + A) falls during the Christian year which is obtained by adding the same number A to the number from column C which is located on the same line as the number chosen from H. That which is shown in the body of the Table is the Christian date of the first day of that year.

Example: The year 700 A. H. (= 691 + 9) began in (1291 + 9 =) 1300 A. D. on September 16, Friday; and the year 700 A. H. had 355 days.

The Mohammedan months are as follows:

1.	Muharram	30 days	7.	Rajab	30 days
2.	Safar	30 "	8.	Sha'bān	29 "
3.	Rabī' I.	30 "	9.	Ramadān	30 "
4.	Rabī' II.	29 "	10.	Shawwāl	29 "
5.	Jumādā I.	30 "	11.	Dhu'l-Qa'dah	29 "
6.	Jumādā II.	29 "	12.	Dhu'l-Hijjah	29 "

N. B. Since there is sometimes a variation of one day in the date fixed for the first day of lunar months by the Moslems, the days of the week are the best guarantee for the accuracy of the synchronisms.

A =	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
C	DECEMBER			NOVEMBER			OCTOBER			SEPTEMBER			AUGUST			JULY	
607																16^{6}	$\cdot 5^{3}$
640	21^{5}	$\cdot 10^{2}$	[30^{7}	19^{4}	$\cdot 7^{1}$	28^{6}	$\cdot 17^{3}$	7^{1}	25^{5}	$\cdot 14^{2}$	4^{7}	24^{4}	$\cdot 12^{1}$	2^{6}	22^{3}	$\cdot 11^{7}$	[30^{5}
672	27^{2}	$\cdot 16^{6}$	6^{4}	$\cdot 25^{1}$	14^{6}	3^{3}]	$\cdot 23^{7}$	13^{5}	1^{2}]	$\cdot 20^{6}$	10^{4}	30^{1}	$\cdot 18^{5}$	8^{3}	$\cdot 28^{7}$	18^{5}	6^{2}
705	23^{4}	12^{1}	$\cdot 1^{5}$	20^{3}	9^{7}	$\cdot 29^{4}$	19^{2}	7^{6}	$\cdot 26^{3}$	16^{1}	$\cdot 5^{5}$	25^{3}	14^{7}	$\cdot 3^{4}$	24^{2}	12^{6}	$\cdot 1^{3}$
737	29^{1}	18^{5}	$\cdot 7^{2}$	26^{7}	15^{4}	$\cdot 4^{1}$]	25^{6}	$\cdot 13^{3}$	3^{1}]	22^{5}	$\cdot 11^{2}$	31^{7}	20^{4}	$\cdot 9^{1}$	30^{6}	18^{3}	$\cdot 7^{7}$
770	24^{2}	$\cdot 13^{6}$	2^{4}	$\cdot 21^{1}$	11^{6}	31^{3}	$\cdot 19^{7}$	9^{5}	28^{2}	$\cdot 17^{6}$	6^{4}	26^{1}	$\cdot 15^{5}$	5^{3}	$\cdot 24^{7}$	14^{5}	3^{2}
802	$\cdot 30^{6}$	20^{4}	8^{1}	$\cdot 27^{5}$	17^{3}	6^{7}]	$\cdot 25^{4}$	15^{2}	4^{6}]	$\cdot 23^{3}$	12^{1}	$\cdot 1^{5}$]	22^{3}	11^{7}	$\cdot 30^{4}$	20^{2}	9^{6}
835	26^{1}	14^{5}	$\cdot 3^{2}$	23^{7}	12^{4}	$\cdot 31^{1}$	21^{6}	$\cdot 10^{3}$	30^{1}	18^{5}	$\cdot 7^{2}$	28^{7}	17^{4}	$\cdot 5^{1}$	26^{6}	$\cdot 15^{3}$	5^{1}
868	20^{2}	$\cdot 9^{6}$	[29^{4}	$\cdot 18^{1}$	7^{6}	27^{3}	$\cdot 16^{7}$	6^{5}	24^{2}	$\cdot 13^{6}$	3^{4}	$\cdot 23^{1}$	12^{6}	1^{3}	$\cdot 21^{7}$	11^{5}	[29^{2}
900	$\cdot 26^{6}$	16^{4}	5^{1}	$\cdot 24^{5}$	13^{3}	2^{7}]	$\cdot 22^{4}$	12^{2}	$\cdot 30^{6}$	20^{4}	9^{1}	$\cdot 29^{5}$	18^{3}	7^{7}	$\cdot 27^{4}$	17^{2}	5^{6}
933	22^{1}	11^{5}	[30^{2}	19^{7}	$\cdot 8^{4}$	29^{2}	18^{6}	$\cdot 6^{3}$	26^{1}	15^{5}	$\cdot 4^{2}$	24^{7}	13^{4}	$\cdot 2^{1}$	23^{6}	$\cdot 11^{3}$	1^{1}
965	28^{5}	$\cdot 17^{2}$	7^{7}	25^{4}	$\cdot 14^{1}$	4^{6}]	24^{3}	$\cdot 12^{7}$	2^{5}]	21^{2}	$\cdot 10^{6}$	30^{4}	$\cdot 19^{1}$	9^{6}	29^{3}	$\cdot 17^{7}$	7^{5}
998	$\cdot 23^{6}$	13^{4}	1^{1}	$\cdot 20^{5}$	10^{3}	30^{7}	$\cdot 18^{4}$	8^{2}	$\cdot 27^{6}$	17^{4}	5^{1}	$\cdot 25^{5}$	15^{3}	4^{7}	$\cdot 23^{4}$	13^{2}	2^{6}
1030	$\cdot 29^{3}$	19^{1}	7^{5}	$\cdot 26^{2}$	16^{7}	$\cdot 5^{4}$]	25^{2}	14^{6}	$\cdot 3^{3}$]	23^{1}	11^{5}	$\cdot 31^{2}$	21^{7}	10^{4}	$\cdot 29^{1}$	19^{6}	$\cdot 8^{3}$
1063	25^{5}	$\cdot 13^{2}$	3^{7}	22^{4}	$\cdot 11^{1}$	31^{6}	20^{3}	$\cdot 9^{7}$	29^{5}	17^{2}	$\cdot 6^{6}$	27^{4}	$\cdot 16^{1}$	5^{6}	25^{3}	$\cdot 14^{7}$	4^{5}
1095	31^{2}	$\cdot 19^{6}$	9^{4}	28^{1}	$\cdot 17^{5}$	6^{3}]	26^{7}	$\cdot 15^{4}$	5^{2}]	$\cdot 23^{6}$	13^{4}	2^{1}]	$\cdot 22^{5}$	11^{3}	31^{7}	$\cdot 20^{4}$	10^{2}
1128	$\cdot 25^{3}$	15^{1}	4^{5}	$\cdot 23^{2}$	12^{7}	$\cdot 14^{4}$]	22^{2}	11^{6}	$\cdot 29^{3}$	19^{1}	8^{5}	$\cdot 28^{2}$	17^{7}	$\cdot 6^{4}$	27^{2}	16^{6}	$\cdot 4^{3}$
1160	$\cdot 31^{7}$	21^{5}	$\cdot 10^{2}$	30^{7}	18^{4}	$\cdot 7^{1}$]	28^{6}	17^{3}	$\cdot 5^{7}$]	25^{5}	$\cdot 14^{2}$	4^{7}]	23^{4}	$\cdot 12^{1}$	2^{6}]	22^{3}	$\cdot 10^{7}$
1193	27^{2}	$\cdot 16^{6}$	6^{4}	24^{1}	$\cdot 13^{5}$	3^{3}]	$\cdot 23^{7}$	12^{5}	1^{2}]	$\cdot 20^{6}$	10^{4}	29^{1}	$\cdot 18^{5}$	8^{3}	28^{7}	$\cdot 16^{4}$	6^{2}
1226	$\cdot 22^{3}$	12^{1}	[$\cdot 30^{5}$	20^{3}	9^{7}	$\cdot 29^{4}$	18^{2}	7^{6}	$\cdot 26^{3}$	16^{1}	4^{5}	$\cdot 24^{2}$	14^{7}	$\cdot 3^{4}$	23^{2}	12^{6}	$\cdot 1^{3}$
1258	29^{1}	18^{5}	$\cdot 6^{2}$	26^{7}	15^{4}	$\cdot 4^{1}$]	24^{6}	13^{3}	$\cdot 2^{7}$]	22^{5}	$\cdot 10^{2}$	31^{7}	20^{4}	$\cdot 9^{1}$	29^{6}	18^{3}	$\cdot 7^{7}$
1291	24^{2}	$\cdot 12^{6}$	2^{4}	21^{1}	$\cdot 10^{5}$	30^{3}	$\cdot 19^{7}$	9^{5}	28^{2}	$\cdot 16^{6}$	6^{4}	26^{1}	$\cdot 15^{5}$	4^{3}	24^{7}	$\cdot 13^{1}$	3^{2}
1323	30^{6}	$\cdot 18^{3}$	8^{1}	$\cdot 27^{5}$	17^{3}	5^{7}]	$\cdot 25^{4}$	15^{2}	4^{6}]	$\cdot 22^{3}$	12^{1}	1^{5}]	$\cdot 21^{2}$	10^{7}	$\cdot 30^{4}$	20^{2}	9^{6}
1356	25^{1}	14^{5}	$\cdot 3^{2}$	23^{7}	11^{4}	$\cdot 31^{1}$	21^{6}	10^{3}	$\cdot 28^{7}$	18^{5}	$\cdot 7^{2}$	28^{7}	16^{4}	$\cdot 5^{1}$	26^{6}	15^{3}	$\cdot 3^{7}$
1388	31^{5}	20^{2}	$\cdot 9^{6}$	29^{4}	17^{1}	$\cdot 6^{5}$]	27^{3}	$\cdot 16^{7}$	5^{5}]	24^{2}	$\cdot 13^{6}$	3^{4}]	22^{1}	$\cdot 11^{5}$	1^{3}]	$\cdot 21^{7}$	10^{5}
1421	26^{6}	$\cdot 15^{3}$	5^{1}	$\cdot 23^{5}$	13^{3}	2^{7}]	$\cdot 22^{4}$	11^{2}	30^{6}	$\cdot 19^{3}$	9^{1}	$\cdot 28^{5}$	18^{3}	7^{7}	$\cdot 27^{4}$	16^{2}	5^{6}
1454	22^{1}	11^{5}	[$\cdot 29^{2}$	19^{7}	8^{4}	$\cdot 28^{1}$	17^{6}	$\cdot 6^{3}$	26^{1}	15^{5}	$\cdot 3^{2}$	24^{7}	13^{4}	$\cdot 2^{1}$	22^{6}	11^{3}	[$\cdot 30^{7}$
1486	28^{5}	17^{2}	$\cdot 5^{6}$	25^{4}	$\cdot 14^{1}$	4^{6}]	23^{3}	$\cdot 12^{7}$	2^{5}]	21^{2}	$\cdot 9^{6}$	30^{4}	19^{1}	$\cdot 8^{5}$	28^{3}	$\cdot 17^{7}$	7^{5}
1519	$\cdot 23^{6}$	12^{4}	1^{1}	$\cdot 20^{5}$	10^{3}	29^{7}	$\cdot 18^{4}$	8^{2}	$\cdot 27^{6}$	$\cdot 15^{3}$	5^{1}	$\cdot 25^{5}$	15^{3}	3^{7}	$\cdot 23^{4}$	13^{2}	2^{6}
1551	$\cdot 29^{3}$	18^{1}	7^{5}	$\cdot 26^{2}$	16^{7}	4^{4}]	$\cdot 24^{1}$	14^{6}	$\cdot 3^{3}$]	22^{1}	11^{5}	$\cdot 31^{2}$	21^{7}	9^{4}	$\cdot 29^{1}$	19^{6}	8^{3}
1585	23^{2}	$\cdot 12^{6}$	2^{4}	$\cdot 20^{1}$	10^{6}	30^{3}	$\cdot 19^{7}$	8^{5}	27^{2}	$\cdot 16^{6}$	6^{4}	25^{1}	$\cdot 14^{5}$	4^{3}	$\cdot 24^{7}$	13^{5}	2^{2}
1617	$\cdot 29^{6}$	19^{4}	8^{1}	$\cdot 26^{5}$	16^{3}	5^{7}]	$\cdot 25^{4}$	14^{2}	3^{6}]	$\cdot 22^{3}$	12^{1}	$\cdot 31^{5}$	21^{3}	10^{7}	$\cdot 30^{4}$	19^{2}	8^{6}
1650	25^{1}	14^{5}	$\cdot 2^{2}$	22^{7}	11^{4}	$\cdot 31^{1}$	20^{6}	$\cdot 9^{3}$	29^{1}	18^{5}	$\cdot 6^{2}$	27^{7}	16^{4}	$\cdot 5^{1}$	25^{6}	$\cdot 14^{3}$	4^{1}
1682	31^{5}	20^{2}	$\cdot 8^{6}$	28^{4}	$\cdot 17^{1}$	7^{6}]	26^{3}	$\cdot 15^{7}$	5^{5}]	24^{2}	$\cdot 12^{6}$	2^{4}]	$\cdot 22^{1}$	12^{6}	31^{3}	$\cdot 20^{7}$	10^{5}
1715	$\cdot 27^{6}$	16^{4}	5^{1}	$\cdot 24^{5}$	14^{3}	2^{7}]	$\cdot 22^{1}$	12^{2}	$\cdot 1^{6}$]	20^{4}	9^{1}	$\cdot 29^{5}$	19^{3}	7^{7}	$\cdot 27^{4}$	17^{2}	6^{6}
1748	22^{1}	11^{5}	[$\cdot 30^{2}$	20^{7}	$\cdot 8^{4}$	29^{2}	18^{6}	$\cdot 7^{3}$	26^{1}	15^{5}	$\cdot 4^{2}$	25^{7}	13^{4}	$\cdot 2^{1}$	23^{6}	$\cdot 12^{3}$	1^{1}
1780	28^{5}	$\cdot 17^{2}$	7^{7}	26^{4}	$\cdot 14^{1}$	4^{6}]	24^{3}	$\cdot 13^{7}$	2^{5}]	21^{2}	$\cdot 10^{6}$	31^{4}	$\cdot 19^{1}$	9^{6}	29^{3}	$\cdot 18^{7}$	7^{5}
1813	$\cdot 24^{6}$	14^{4}	3^{1}	$\cdot 21^{5}$	11^{3}	31^{7}	$\cdot 20^{4}$	9^{2}	$\cdot 28^{6}$	18^{4}	7^{1}	$\cdot 26^{5}$	16^{3}	5^{7}	$\cdot 25^{4}$	14^{2}	3^{6}
1845	$\cdot 30^{3}$	20^{1}	9^{6}	$\cdot 27^{2}$	17^{7}	$\cdot 6^{4}$]	27^{2}	15^{6}	$\cdot 4^{3}$]	24^{1}	13^{5}	$\cdot 1^{2}$]	22^{7}	11^{4}	$\cdot 31^{1}$	20^{6}	$\cdot 9^{3}$
1878	26^{5}	$\cdot 15^{2}$	4^{7}	23^{4}	$\cdot 12^{1}$	2^{6}]	21^{3}	$\cdot 10^{7}$	30^{5}	19^{2}	$\cdot 7^{6}$	28^{4}	$\cdot 17^{1}$	7^{6}	26^{3}	$\cdot 15^{7}$	5^{5}
1911	$\cdot 22^{6}$	11^{4}	[30^{1}	$\cdot 19^{5}$	9^{3}	28^{7}	$\cdot 17^{4}$	7^{2}	$\cdot 26^{6}$	15^{4}	4^{1}	$\cdot 24^{5}$	14^{3}	2^{7}	$\cdot 22^{4}$	12^{2}	$\cdot 1^{6}$
1943	$\cdot 28^{3}$	17^{1}	6^{5}	$\cdot 25^{2}$	15^{7}	$\cdot 3^{4}$]	24^{2}	13^{6}	$\cdot 2^{3}$]	21^{1}	10^{5}	$\cdot 30^{2}$	20^{7}	$\cdot 8^{4}$	29^{2}	18^{6}	$\cdot 7^{3}$
1976	23^{6}	$\cdot 12^{2}$	2^{7}	21^{4}	$\cdot 9^{1}$	30^{6}	19^{3}	$\cdot 8^{7}$	27^{5}	$\cdot 16^{2}$	6^{7}	26^{4}	$\cdot 14^{1}$	4^{6}	24^{3}	$\cdot 13^{7}$	2^{5}

The dot (·) indicates that the Moslem year which begins that date has 355 days, not 354.

17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33 34	= A
June			May			April			March		Feb'ry			January			*H*
24^{1}	13^{5}	$\cdot 2^{2}]$	23^{7}	$\cdot 11^{4}$	$1^{2}]$	20^{6}	$\cdot 9^{3}$	29^{1}	18^{5}	$\cdot 7^{2}$	25^{7}	14^{4}	$\cdot 2^{1}$	23^{6}	$\cdot 12^{3}$	2^{1}	*[-14]*
$\cdot 19^{2}$	9^{7}	29^{4}	$\cdot 17^{1}$	7^{6}	26^{3}	$\cdot 15^{7}$	4^{5}	24^{2}	$\cdot 13^{6}$	3^{4}	$\cdot 20^{1}$	9^{6}	[29^{3}	$\cdot 18^{7}$	8^{5}		*20*
$\cdot 25^{6}$	15^{4}	$4^{1}]$	$\cdot 23^{5}$	13^{3}	$2^{7}]$	$\cdot 21^{4}$	10^{2}	$\cdot 30^{6}$	20^{4}	9^{1}	$\cdot 26^{5}$	15^{3}	4^{7}	$\cdot 24^{4}$	14^{2}	$\cdot 2^{6}$	*53*
21^{1}	10^{5}	$\cdot 29^{2}$	19^{7}	$\cdot 8^{4}$	28^{2}	16^{6}	$\cdot 5^{3}$	26^{1}	15^{5}	$\cdot 5^{2}$	21^{7}	$\cdot 10^{4}$	[31^{2}	20^{6}	$\cdot 8^{3}$		*87*
27^{5}	$\cdot 16^{2}$	$5^{7}]$	25^{4}	$\cdot 14^{1}$	$4^{6}]$	22^{3}	$\cdot 11^{7}$	$1^{5}]$	$\cdot 21^{2}$	10^{7}	27^{4}	$\cdot 16^{1}$	6^{6}	26^{3}	$\cdot 14^{7}$	4^{5}	*120*
$\cdot 22^{6}$	11^{4}	31^{1}	$\cdot 20^{5}$	10^{3}	$\cdot 28^{7}$	18^{5}	7^{2}	$\cdot 27^{6}$	16^{4}	5^{1}	$\cdot 22^{5}$	12^{3}	1^{7}	$\cdot 20^{4}$	10^{2}		*154*
$\cdot 28^{3}$	17^{1}	$\cdot 6^{5}]$	27^{3}	16^{7}	$\cdot 4^{4}]$	24^{2}	13^{6}	$\cdot 2^{3}]$	22^{1}	11^{5}	$\cdot 28^{2}$	18^{7}	$\cdot 7^{4}$	27^{2}	16^{6}	$\cdot 5^{3}$	*187*
23^{5}	$\cdot 12^{2}$	$2^{7}]$	22^{4}	$\cdot 10^{1}$	30^{6}	19^{3}	$\cdot 8^{7}$	28^{5}	17^{2}	7^{7}	24^{4}	$\cdot 13^{1}$	2^{6}	22^{3}	$\cdot 11^{7}$	1^{5}	*221*
$\cdot 18^{6}$	8^{4}	28^{1}	$\cdot 16^{5}$	6^{3}	$\cdot 25^{7}$	15^{5}	3^{2}	$\cdot 23^{6}$	13^{4}	2^{1}	$\cdot 19^{5}$	8^{3}	[28^{7}	$\cdot 17^{4}$	7^{2}		*255*
$\cdot 24^{3}$	14^{1}	$\cdot 3^{5}]$	23^{3}	12^{7}	$\cdot 1^{4}]$	21^{2}	9^{6}	$\cdot 29^{3}$	19^{1}	8^{5}	$\cdot 25^{2}$	14^{7}	$\cdot 3^{4}$	24^{2}	13^{6}	$\cdot 1^{3}$	*288*
20^{5}	$\cdot 9^{2}$	29^{7}	18^{4}	$\cdot 7^{1}$	27^{6}	15^{3}	$\cdot 4^{7}$	25^{5}	$\cdot 14^{2}$	3^{7}	20^{4}	$\cdot 9^{1}$	[30^{6}	19^{3}	$\cdot 7^{7}$		*322*
26^{2}	$\cdot 15^{6}$	$4^{4}]$	24^{1}	$\cdot 13^{5}$	$3^{3}]$	$\cdot 21^{7}$	11^{5}	31^{2}	$\cdot 20^{6}$	9^{4}	26^{1}	$\cdot 15^{5}$	5^{3}	25^{7}	14^{5}	3^{2}	*355*
$\cdot 21^{3}$	10^{1}	$\cdot 30^{5}$	20^{3}	9^{7}	$\cdot 27^{4}$	17^{2}	6^{6}	$\cdot 26^{3}$	15^{1}	$\cdot 4^{5}$	22^{3}	11^{7}	[$\cdot 31^{4}$	20^{2}	9^{6}		*389*
28^{1}	16^{5}	$\cdot 5^{2}]$	26^{7}	15^{4}	$\cdot 3^{1}]$	23^{6}	$\cdot 12^{3}$	$2^{1}]$	21^{5}	$\cdot 10^{2}$	28^{7}	17^{4}	$\cdot 6^{1}$	26^{6}	15^{3}	$\cdot 4^{7}$	*422*
22^{2}	$\cdot 11^{6}$	$1^{4}]$	$\cdot 21^{1}$	10^{6}	29^{3}	$\cdot 18^{7}$	8^{5}	27^{2}	$\cdot 16^{6}$	6^{4}	23^{1}	$\cdot 12^{5}$	1^{3}	$\cdot 21^{7}$	11^{5}		*456*
$\cdot 28^{6}$	18^{4}	$7^{1}]$	$\cdot 27^{5}$	16^{3}	$5^{7}]$	$\cdot 24^{4}$	14^{2}	$2^{6}]$	$\cdot 22^{3}$	12^{1}	$\cdot 1^{5}]$	19^{3}	7^{7}	$\cdot 27^{4}$	17^{2}	6^{6}	*489*
24^{1}	13^{5}	$\cdot 2^{2}]$	22^{7}	11^{4}	$\cdot 30^{1}$	20^{6}	$\cdot 8^{3}$	29^{1}	18^{5}	$\cdot 7^{2}$	25^{7}	13^{4}	$\cdot 2^{1}$	23^{6}	12^{3}		*523*
30^{5}	19^{2}	$\cdot 8^{6}]$	28^{4}	$\cdot 17^{1}$	$7^{6}]$	26^{3}	$\cdot 14^{7}$	$4^{5}]$	24^{2}	$\cdot 13^{6}$	$2^{4}]$	19^{1}	$\cdot 8^{5}$	29^{3}	$\cdot 18^{7}$	7^{5}	*556*
$\cdot 25^{6}$	15^{4}	$3^{1}]$	$\cdot 23^{5}$	13^{3}	$2^{7}]$	$\cdot 20^{4}$	10^{2}	30^{6}	$\cdot 19^{3}$	8^{1}	$\cdot 25^{5}$	15^{3}	4^{7}	$\cdot 24^{4}$	13^{2}	2^{6}	*590*
21^{1}	9^{5}	$\cdot 29^{2}$	19^{7}	8^{4}	$\cdot 26^{1}$	16^{6}	$\cdot 5^{3}$	26^{1}	14^{5}	$\cdot 3^{2}$	21^{7}	10^{4}	[$\cdot 30^{1}$	19^{6}	$\cdot 8^{3}$		*624*
27^{5}	15^{2}	$\cdot 4^{6}]$	25^{4}	$\cdot 14^{1}$	$3^{6}]$	22^{3}	$\cdot 11^{7}$	$1^{5}]$	20^{2}	$\cdot 9^{6}$	27^{4}	$\cdot 16^{1}$	6^{6}	25^{3}	$\cdot 14^{7}$	4^{5}	*657*
$\cdot 21^{6}$	11^{4}	31^{1}	$\cdot 20^{5}$	9^{3}	28^{7}	$\cdot 17^{4}$	7^{2}	$\cdot 26^{6}$	16^{4}	5^{1}	$\cdot 22^{5}$	12^{3}	[31^{7}	$\cdot 20^{4}$	10^{2}		*691*
$\cdot 27^{3}$	17^{1}	$6^{5}]$	$\cdot 26^{2}$	15^{7}	$\cdot 4^{4}]$	24^{2}	13^{6}	$\cdot 1^{3}]$	22^{1}	11^{5}	$\cdot 28^{2}$	18^{7}	6^{4}	$\cdot 26^{1}$	16^{6}	$\cdot 5^{3}$	*724*
23^{5}	$\cdot 12^{2}$	$2^{7}]$	21^{4}	$\cdot 10^{1}$	30^{6}	19^{3}	$\cdot 7^{7}$	28^{5}	17^{2}	$\cdot 6^{6}$	24^{4}	$\cdot 12^{1}$	2^{6}	22^{3}	$\cdot 11^{7}$		*758*
29^{2}	$\cdot 18^{6}$	$8^{4}]$	27^{1}	$\cdot 16^{5}$	$6^{3}]$	25^{7}	$\cdot 13^{4}$	$3^{2}]$	$\cdot 23^{6}$	13^{4}	$1^{1}]$	$\cdot 18^{5}$	8^{3}	28^{7}	$\cdot 17^{4}$	6^{2}	*791*
$\cdot 24^{3}$	14^{1}	$2^{5}]$	$\cdot 22^{2}$	12^{7}	$\cdot 1^{4}]$	20^{2}	9^{6}	$\cdot 29^{3}$	19^{1}	7^{5}	$\cdot 24^{2}$	14^{7}	3^{4}	$\cdot 23^{1}$	12^{6}	$\cdot 1^{3}$	*825*
20^{5}	$\cdot 8^{2}$	29^{7}	18^{4}	$\cdot 7^{1}$	26^{6}	15^{3}	$\cdot 4^{7}$	25^{5}	13^{2}	$\cdot 2^{6}$	20^{4}	$\cdot 9^{1}$	[30^{6}	18^{3}	$\cdot 7^{7}$		*859*
26^{2}	$\cdot 14^{6}$	$4^{4}]$	24^{1}	$\cdot 13^{5}$	$2^{3}]$	21^{7}	$\cdot 10^{4}$	31^{2}	$\cdot 19^{6}$	9^{4}	26^{1}	$\cdot 15^{5}$	5^{3}	24^{7}	$\cdot 13^{4}$	3^{2}	*892*
$\cdot 20^{3}$	10^{1}	30^{5}	$\cdot 19^{2}$	8^{7}	$\cdot 27^{4}$	17^{2}	6^{6}	$\cdot 25^{3}$	15^{1}	4^{5}	$\cdot 21^{2}$	11^{7}	[$\cdot 30^{4}$	20^{2}	9^{6}		*926*
$\cdot 26^{7}$	16^{5}	$\cdot 5^{2}]$	26^{7}	14^{4}	$\cdot 3^{1}]$	23^{6}	12^{3}	$\cdot 31^{7}$	21^{5}	$\cdot 10^{2}$	28^{7}	17^{4}	$\cdot 5^{1}$	26^{6}	25^{3}	$\cdot 14^{7}$ 3^{5}	*959*
$\cdot 21^{6}$	11^{4}	30^{1}	$\cdot 19^{5}$	9^{3}	$\cdot 28^{7}$	17^{5}	6^{2}	$\cdot 26^{6}$	16^{4}	4^{1}	$\cdot 21^{5}$	11^{3}	[31^{7}	$\cdot 20^{4}$	9^{2}		*994*
$\cdot 27^{3}$	17^{1}	$\cdot 5^{5}]$	26^{3}	15^{7}	$\cdot 4^{4}]$	23^{2}	12^{6}	$\cdot 1^{3}]$	22^{1}	10^{5}	$\cdot 27^{2}$	17^{7}	$\cdot 6^{4}$	27^{2}	15^{6}	$\cdot 4^{3}$	*1027*
23^{5}	$\cdot 11^{2}$	$1^{7}]$	21^{4}	$\cdot 10^{1}$	29^{6}	18^{3}	$\cdot 7^{7}$	28^{5}	$\cdot 16^{2}$	6^{7}	23^{4}	$\cdot 12^{1}$	2^{6}	21^{3}	$\cdot 10^{7}$		*1061*
29^{2}	$\cdot 18^{6}$	$8^{4}]$	28^{1}	$\cdot 17^{5}$	$6^{3}]$	$\cdot 25^{7}$	15^{5}	$4^{2}]$	$\cdot 23^{6}$	13^{4}	$2^{1}]$	$\cdot 19^{5}$	9^{3}	28^{7}	$\cdot 17^{4}$	7^{2}	*1094*
$\cdot 24^{3}$	14^{1}	$\cdot 3^{5}]$	24^{3}	12^{7}	$\cdot 1^{4}]$	21^{2}	10^{6}	$\cdot 29^{3}$	19^{1}	8^{5}	$\cdot 25^{2}$	15^{7}	$\cdot 3^{4}$	24^{2}	13^{6}	$\cdot 2^{3}$	*1128*
20^{5}	$\cdot 9^{2}$	30^{7}	18^{4}	$\cdot 7^{1}$	27^{6}	16^{3}	$\cdot 4^{7}$	25^{5}	$\cdot 14^{2}$	4^{7}	21^{4}	$\cdot 9^{1}$	[30^{6}	19^{3}	$\cdot 8^{7}$		*1162*
26^{2}	$\cdot 15^{6}$	5^{4}	25^{1}	$\cdot 14^{5}$	$4^{3}]$	$\cdot 23^{7}$	12^{5}	$1^{2}]$	$\cdot 21^{6}$	11^{4}	28^{1}	$\cdot 16^{5}$	6^{3}	$\cdot 26^{7}$	16^{5}	4^{2}	*1195*
$\cdot 22^{3}$	12^{1}	$\cdot 31^{5}$	21^{3}	10^{7}	$\cdot 29^{4}$	18^{2}	7^{6}	$\cdot 27^{3}$	17^{1}	$\cdot 5^{5}$	23^{3}	12^{7}	$\cdot 1^{4}$	22^{2}	10^{6}		*1229*
29^{1}	18^{5}	$\cdot 6^{2}]$	27^{7}	16^{4}	$\cdot 5^{1}]$	24^{6}	$\cdot 13^{3}$	$3^{1}]$	23^{5}	$\cdot 11^{2}$	$1^{7}]$	18^{4}	$\cdot 7^{1}$	28^{6}	16^{3}	$\cdot 5^{7}$	*1262*
24^{2}	$\cdot 12^{6}$	$2^{4}]$	$\cdot 22^{1}$	12^{6}	$1^{3}]$	$\cdot 20^{7}$	10^{5}	30^{2}	$\cdot 18^{6}$	8^{4}	25^{1}	$\cdot 14^{5}$	4^{3}	$\cdot 23^{7}$	13^{5}	2^{2}	*1296*
20^{4}	9^{1}	$\cdot 29^{5}$	19^{3}	7^{7}	$\cdot 26^{4}$	16^{2}	5^{6}	$\cdot 24^{3}$	14^{1}	$\cdot 3^{5}$	21^{3}	10^{7}	[$\cdot 29^{4}$	19^{2}	8^{6}		*1330*
26^{1}	15^{5}	$\cdot 4^{2}]$	25^{7}	13^{4}	$\cdot 2^{1}]$	22^{6}	$\cdot 11^{3}$	31^{1}	20^{5}	$\cdot 9^{2}$	27^{7}	16^{4}	$\cdot 4^{1}$	25^{6}	14^{3}	$\cdot 3^{7}$	*1363*
21^{2}	$\cdot 10^{6}$	31^{4}	$\cdot 19^{1}$	9^{6}	28^{3}	$\cdot 17^{7}$	6^{5}	26^{2}	$\cdot 15^{6}$	5^{4}	22^{1}	$\cdot 10^{5}$	[31^{3}	$\cdot 20^{7}$	10^{5}		*1397*

The square bracket ([) shows that the date belongs to the month on the right, and (]) that it belongs to the month on the left.

Having ascertained, by means of Table I, the Christian date, x, of the first day of a Moslem year, the date of any other day in that year can be obtained by reckoning the number of days between it and x in the Moslem year, and then using this same number of days in reckoning the date in the Christian year. By means of Tables II and III these calculations can be made very quickly.

TABLE II. DAYS FROM MARCH 1 OF CHRISTIAN YEAR.

	2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30
March	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	31
	2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30	
April	32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58	60	
	33	35	37	39	41	43	45	47	49	51	53	55	57	59	61	
May	62	64	66	68	70	72	74	76	78	80	82	84	86	88	90	92
	63	65	67	69	71	73	75	77	79	81	83	85	87	89	91	
June	93	95	97	99	101	103	105	107	109	111	113	115	117	119	121	
	94	96	98	100	102	104	106	108	110	112	114	116	118	120	122	
July	123	125	127	129	131	133	135	137	139	141	143	145	147	149	151	153
	124	126	128	130	132	134	136	138	140	142	144	146	148	150	152	
August	154	156	158	160	162	164	166	168	170	172	174	176	178	180	182	184
	155	157	159	161	163	165	167	169	171	173	175	177	179	181	183	
September	185	187	189	191	193	195	197	199	201	203	205	207	209	211	213	
	186	188	190	192	194	196	198	200	202	204	206	208	210	212	214	
October	215	217	219	221	223	225	227	229	231	233	235	237	239	241	243	245
	216	218	220	222	224	226	228	230	232	234	236	238	240	242	244	
November	246	248	250	252	254	256	258	260	262	264	266	268	270	272	274	
	247	249	251	253	255	257	259	261	263	265	267	269	271	273	275	
December	276	278	280	282	284	286	288	290	292	294	296	298	300	302	304	306
	277	279	281	283	285	287	289	291	293	295	297	299	301	303	305	
January	307	309	311	313	315	317	319	321	323	325	327	329	331	333	335	337
	308	310	312	314	316	318	320	322	324	326	328	330	332	334	336	
February	338	340	342	344	346	348	350	352	354	356	358	360	362	364	(366)	
	339	341	343	345	347	349	351	353	355	357	359	361	363	365		
	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	31

Example: the date 20th Jumādā I of 1313 A. H.

The first day of the year 1313 A. H. (1st of Muharram) = 24 June (116th day) of 1895 A. D. Then 20th Jumādā I (138th day) corresponds to (116 + 138 — 1 =) 253rd day of Table II, or the 8th of November 1895 A. D., which was a Friday.

TABLE III. DAYS FROM MUHARRAM 1 OF MOSLEM YEAR.

	2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30
Muharram	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	
	2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30	
Safar	31	33	35	37	39	41	43	45	47	49	51	53	55	57	59	
	32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58		
Rabī‘ I	60	62	64	66	68	70	72	74	76	78	80	82	84	86	88	
	61	63	65	67	69	71	73	75	77	79	81	83	85	87	89	
Rabī‘ II	90	92	94	96	98	100	102	104	106	108	110	112	114	116	118	
	91	93	95	97	99	101	103	105	107	109	111	113	115	117		
Jumādā I	119	121	123	125	127	129	131	133	135	137	139	141	143	145	147	
	120	122	124	126	128	130	132	134	136	138	140	142	144	146	148	
Jumādā II	149	151	153	155	157	159	161	163	165	167	169	171	173	175	177	
	150	152	154	156	158	160	162	164	166	168	170	172	174	176		
Rajab	178	180	182	184	186	188	190	192	194	196	198	200	202	204	206	
	179	181	183	185	187	189	191	193	195	197	199	201	203	205	207	
Sha‘bān	208	210	212	214	216	218	220	222	224	226	228	230	232	234	236	
	209	211	213	215	217	219	221	223	225	227	229	231	233	235		
Ramadān	237	239	241	243	245	247	249	251	253	255	257	259	261	263	265	
	238	240	242	244	246	248	250	252	254	256	258	260	262	264	266	
Shawwāl	267	269	271	273	275	277	279	281	283	285	287	289	291	293	295	
	268	270	272	274	276	278	280	282	284	286	288	290	292	294		
Dhu'l-Qa‘dah	296	298	300	302	304	306	308	310	312	314	316	318	320	322	324	
	297	299	301	303	305	307	309	311	313	315	317	319	321	323	325	
Dhu'l-Hijjah	326	328	330	332	334	336	338	340	342	344	346	348	350	352	354	(355)
	327	329	331	333	335	337	339	341	343	345	347	349	351	353		
	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25	27	29	

FINANCE AND RELIGIOUS LITERATURE[1]

In the past few years the whole problem of Mission Presses and publication agencies has been a subject of much discussion, especially with those interested in and responsible for them. While on furlough recently in America, in view of our own particular problems, it fell to me to investigate the entire question of policy, plant and management of Mission Presses and publication enterprises, making use of the experience of the Mission Boards and of presses in other parts of the world. It was an interesting and enlightening study.

It is not my purpose to give the more technical results of this investigation as it relates to Mission Presses and their management, but rather some facts and suggestions in regard to the publication and distribution of religious or more specifically evangelistic literature.

Dr. Warnshuis of the International Missionary Council, in the *Missionary Review of the World* for April, 1930, has given a classic statement of the place of this kind of literature, quoting at the close the words of Dr. Charles R. Watson, of Cairo. In speaking of the need of cooperation, he says:

"This lack of cooperation will not be overcome until the production and use of Christian literature in the missionary work of the churches is placed alongside of education, and medical work, and preaching, as one of the most effective methods of accomplishing our missionary task. In Moslem lands and in some other lands where Christian teaching and preaching is increasingly hindered, it should probably take precedence over schools and other institutions. *'No other agency can penetrate so deeply, abide so persistently, witness so daringly, and influence so irresistibly as the printed page.'* "

[1] A paper read at the Fifth Biennial Meeting of the Central Literature Committee for Moslems, which met at Brummana, Lebanon, Syria, April, 1933.

This is of course supremely true of the Scriptures, and then also of evangelistic literature.

In another paper by Dr. Warnshuis entitled "Proposals for the Advancement of Christian Literature" are many good things, but some of his conclusions are open to question, at least for Moslem lands. Briefly, he concludes "(1) A market for Christian literature will be discovered," and "(2) The development of the market would make it practicable to plan the publication of literature on a commercial basis, as it should be. The subsidizing of publishing agencies would no longer be necessary."

Does our experience in the Near East and that of others support these conclusions? As a counsel of perfection it is a good one, and it is an ideal that we are eager to work towards, but we are not sanguine of its speedy realization, nor of the wisdom of putting great emphasis upon it. The emphasis needed is on *distribution,* that evangelistic literature shall be more widely spread and more widely read; and the ultimate consumers, at least the great mass of them, are not going to pay for it, certainly not until there is a taste for it.

In our Near East area we have two missionary presses whose experience ought to help us. The two are at nearly the opposite extremes as examples of the practically self-supporting Press and the highly subsidized. The Nile Mission Press (I take the figures from their report in "Blessed Be Egypt") had in 1932 apparently a subsidy of at least 3,818 pounds sterling or about $13,210. The American Mission Press had besides two missionary salaries a subsidy of $1250, three-fifths of which was for the Mission paper *Al-Nashra*, leaving an actual subsidy of about $500. Reducing the $13,210 by $5,000, the amount of the two American Mission Press missionary salaries and rents, we have for sake of a rough comparison $8,210 subsidy for the Nile Mission Press, against $500 for the American Mission Press, or a ratio of 16½ to 1.

To make another comparison, the total amount of sales of the Nile Mission Press publications was 387 pounds

sterling or $1,315, and therefore the subsidy of $8,210 was nearly six and one-fourth times as great as the total sales. In the American Mission Press the sales of books other than Bibles and imported books, amounted to just under $10,000, so that the subsidy of $500 was only one-twentieth of the total sales. Or, to put it in other words, the American Mission Press sold books to the value of twenty times their subsidy and the Nile Mission Press sold books to the value of one-sixth of their subsidy.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for Egypt and Palestine had in the same year, besides two missionary salaries, a subsidy of £. E. 387, and its sales amounted to £. E. 254. Sales were therefore nearly two-thirds of their subsidy.

A study of the reports of the Persian Inter-mission Literature Committee shows that their sales amounted to about two-fifths of their subsidy.

But now, on the other hand, let us see for example what this large subsidy makes possible for the Nile Mission Press. They were able to distribute (free and by sale) 226,782 tracts and books, while the American Mission Press was only able to distribute (chiefly by sale) 24,650 religious publications, leaving out text books and miscellaneous literature and the religious weekly, *Al-Nashrah.* In other words, the Nile Mission Press was able to distribute more than nine times as much religious literature as the American Mission Press. (Probably a more accurate comparison based on pages rather than number of copies would show a considerably less disproportion in actual amount of material.)

However much may be said for the value of self-support, some of us have long felt that in the American Mission Press we are not doing the amount of literature evangelism that we ought to be doing and really desire to do, just because of the lack of a special subsidy for this kind of literature and better means of distributing it. Since making this study of the problem, I am more convinced than ever of the absolute need of greater aid in

getting evangelistic literature into the hands of people. Dr. Warnshuis is entirely right in saying that missionary literature must be "placed alongside of education, and medical work, and preaching, as one of the most effective methods of accomplishing our missionary task"—including in that the matter of subsidy.

Right here the question may occur to one,—But is not the sale of Scriptures by the great Bible Societies an argument against our present thesis? It may seem so at first sight, for their principle is to sell to the consumer at the full list price, and colporteurs and shops are very limited in any deviation from this principle. But in the first place, these list prices are in the main set at only half the actual cost of these Scriptures to the Bible Society; and in the second place, their very extensive colporteur systems necessitate a larger expenditure on distribution, for a colporteur who sells Scriptures in total value to the amount of half his salary is considered to be doing very well; and in the third place, the Scriptures have an appeal everywhere that no other book can approach.

Let us now look at the experience of some other great literature agencies. Probably the most successful missionary press in the world is the great Baptist Mission Press in Rangoon, Burma, of the American Baptist Church. It shares with our Beirut Press the distinction of having given over one hundred years of service in missionary publication, both of Scriptures and of other literature. It is actually self-supporting, paying even the salaries of the four American personnel, and it has built up a valuable plant on the basis of an original investment by their Board of some $20,000. This property was estimated in 1931 to be worth a million and a half rupees, or about a half-million dollars, largely due to the fortunate original purchase of a site which is now in the very heart of a great city and has profited by a large unearned increment. What is their experience? Their manager says: "Religious literature and periodicals sell at a loss, the latter less than the former, save hymnals, which are profitable."

We can say the same. Again—"We distribute free yearly from three to four hundred thousand small tracts. When I go out in my car, I often take several hundred tracts with me and distribute them." And yet in spite of this really remarkable success, they feel that they are weak on the side of distribution. Listen to what a commission sent out to the Burma Mission by the Baptist Board in 1928-29 says on this line. "No great amount of theorizing is called for if books do not sell. Two questions are raised; first, whether the books in question are vital enough to meet current needs, and secondly, whether the Press has the proper organization to get them before the public. On the latter question the last few years have seen the institution of an effort to develop a colportage system. If the Mission is sufficiently alive to the value of this method, it would seem that very positive results should be attained."

Very similar to this is the experience of another great mission press, the Presbyterian Mission Press of Shanghai, a younger sister of the Beirut Press. This, too, was self-supporting, with a small annual subsidy from the Board, and it has served some twenty-five Missions in China. It too, like the Rangoon Press, was fortunate in owning a valuable site in the city, which had increased greatly in value, and in 1931 it was decided finally to sell to good advantage and to drop the printing end of publication, setting aside the considerable capital thus obtained as a China Literature Fund, publication work to continue under this fund. In their 1923 Press Report is this now familiar statement:—"One of the large problems of the present is to get the well-prepared and valuable literature and helps into the hands of the Chinese after they are printed and placed on sale . . . . . The most notable work in Chinese this year has been Dr. Fenn's Complete Concordance of the Bible . . . . . It is being generously placed by friends in the hands of many Chinese pastors." This Report tells also of a very successful series, the Chekiang Tracts, prepared by Rev. G. Y. Chan, and says, "These were widely advertised, and in the four months

after issuing, about one million four hundred thousand sheets were sold. Nearly every province of China sent orders . . . " These were "sold" so far as the Press was concerned, and this is as it should be, but it is also certainly true that very few of the ultimate consumers paid for them. Let us note just here that literature may be subsidized either at the publication end or the distribution end, which is one and the same thing from the point of view of this argument.

Turn now to a younger and very vigorous Mission publication and distribution agency in one of the most successful mission fields, Korea. The Christian Literature Society of Korea, now in its own fine new building in the heart of Seoul, represents jointly two Presbyterian Churches and two Methodist Churches in the United States, the Australian Presbyterian Church and the United Church of Canada. In some twenty years they have put in circulation thirty-two million books, periodicals and tracts, or over a million and a half a year. This organization is heavily subsidized to do its work. Three of the foreign personnel are provided by various Missions as a part of their contribution to the Society, and the cash subsidies from the participating Missions and other sources were in 1931 nearly seventeen thousand yen, or about $8,400. Their gross sales were over fifty-one thousand yen, or about $25,000, so that their sales were only three times as much as their cash subsidy. They circulated a million and a quarter tracts which are reported as "sold." This again is as it should be so far as the publication agency is concerned, but they are sold to those who will in most cases distribute them free. The ultimate consumer is seldom the one to pay for them. It is still more interesting to note that out of ninety-nine thousand books distributed, over thirty-nine thousand, or forty percent, are reported as free grants.

This is the situation in Korea, considered to be perhaps the most advanced and the most successful Mission field in the world, and the nearest to self-support. Have not some of us been leaning over backward in our defense of the

principle that people should learn from the start to pay for the literature they receive?

Having now seen a fair picture of the situation in a number of Mission Fields under various conditions, let us turn our gaze back for a moment to our home lands and remind ourselves of the vast amount of propaganda literature—propaganda of good and useful sorts, as also of very questionable sorts—that is published and distributed year after year, and that we do not pay for, save indirectly through taxes or contributions. This is certainly true in America of Churches, Church Societies and Sunday Schools, of Health and Social Hygiene Organizations, of Peace Societies, Temperance and Prohibition Organizations, not to include all sorts of descriptive advertising. In the United States one can obtain free or for a nominal sum the greatest imaginable variety of pamphlets on all sorts of topics from various government departments in Washington. These topics extend from information on raising chickens to instructions for the correct building of open fire places and chimneys; from the last word on eugenics to the best methods for exterminating ants. Shall we not do as much to spread the printed word about the Gospel of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?

It is not expected on the Mission Field nor at home to have people pay for the spoken word of evangelism until they are in organized bodies; why should we so generally expect the written word to be paid for—that message which goes so much further than the spoken word?

I do not wish to seem to be guilty now of leaning over backwards in the advocacy of this side of the literature problem, for I do strongly believe that we must push self-support and a due respect for the value of things, but I do not think we have here two incompatible ideals—self-supporting publication agencies and the need of large subsidy in the publication and distribution of evangelistic literature. I am sure one can and should hold to both aims and strive for both at the same time.

Beirut, Syria PAUL ERDMAN.

CURRENT TOPICS

From Kerbela to Calvary

In a recent issue of *The Guardian* (London) a correspondent describes the celebrated Muharram procession as seen at Baghdad. The description and the subsequent reply by the Rev. E. J. Bolus will be of interest in showing a way that leads from Kerbela to Calvary.

"On the first ten nights of the Moslem month of Muharram (which began this year on April 15) the back streets of Baghdad, and of many other Mesopotamian and Persian cities and towns, are the scenes of religious ceremonies which surprise and interest European observers. Many of us are brought up to believe that the religion of Islam is a pure monotheism which steers clear of the baser and more material elements of other religions; we have been given visions of its mosques, open to the vault of heaven, with clear fountains of fresh water, emblematical of religious and philosophical purity; of grave, bearded men devoutly busy with their devotions in the street or wherever they may be; of venerable mullahs in spotless white turbans calling the faithful to prayer from the summits of slender minarets; of the pious and exalted speculations of the ascetic Sufi, etc. Perhaps this represents a part of the real picture, but if so it is only a part. Another part will be seen in cities where dwell communities of Shiah Moslems, especially during the early nights of the month of Muharram.

"Along the narrow and odorous alleyway ahead of us there emerges from the darkness a procession, bearing lights. It is led by a number of youthful devotees bearing flags of green and black upon immense staves. These staves are often surmounted by a human hand, done in metal, an emblem of Ali the son-in-law of the prophet, and father of the sect of the Shiah Moslems. Other queer emblems are carried at points in the procession—an infant's cradle, a gorgeously wrought model of a mosque, a bizarre and rather sinister contraption of flexible metal representing the tongue of Hussein, son of Ali.

"The most striking feature of the procession is the long, double column of men scourging their bare backs with whips of chain. These are dressed entirely in black, with two large holes at the backs of their tunics to allow the chains to descend upon the naked flesh. The columns proceed in a subtle, side-stepping march, the men swinging their chains over their shoulders at each step. As the chains strike the human backs, drums and cymbals clash in unison, thus emphasizing the blows of the scourge and the slow, relentless rhythm of the march. It is a sight and sound at once fascinating and terribly repellent. After the back-scourgers come the breast-

beaters, walking eight or ten abreast. They wear nothing above the waist. As they go they chant in unison some dirge, wild and hoarse-voiced. From time to time, in strict unison, they beat their bare breasts with the flat of their hands, calling upon Ali and Hussein. Sweating and yelling they wave their arms in the prescribed elaborate ceremonial, bringing their hands down with a resounding clap upon their chests. Sometimes there appear small groups of men, bare to the waist, with linked arms. These proceed at a short, quick trot, reminiscent of the wolf or the panther. At brief intervals they bark out, absolutely simultaneously, the name of Ali. Somehow this feature of these grim cortèges is the most sinister of all, and causes an involuntary shudder.

"The centre-piece of the procession is, however, a dead and blood-stained corpse without a head, which is either carried on a bier or thrown across the back of a horse. Near this corpse there walk two boys, in chains, begging for water as they go, and continually refused it by the massive jailer who leads them. From time to time the procession halts, and portions of a sacred story are chanted, punctuated by cries from the actors or bystanders. During the whole, a continual shrill wailing is kept up by the black-veiled women who line the route or who lean out of windows as the procession goes by.

"What is it all about? What is the motive behind these barbaric but fervent performances? It is to keep alive the memory of the defeat and death of Hussein, grandson of the prophet, at the battle of Kerbela. It is Hussein's decapitated body which is carried in mime in the procession. Shortly after the death of Mohammed, Islam became divided over the question of his successor as Commander of the Faithful. Should this office be confined to the prophet's family, to the 'People of the Household,' or should it be filled by whomever the faithful desired? The first three successors were not of the prophet's family. The fourth, Ali, was his cousin and son-in-law, but by this time Islam had spread all over the Near and Middle East, far from Medina; the Umayyads at Damascus had grown in influence and power and were determined to grasp the caliphate for themselves. Ali was assassinated. His elder son, Hassan, was proclaimed his successor, but after a very short rule he abdicated, and the office passed to the Umayyads. Ali's other son, Hussein, had more ambition than his brother. He raised an army in Southern Iraq to support him against the Umayyads. But the latter were too strong for him; he was cut off and defeated at Kerbela near the middle-Euphrates. Hussein himself was killed and his dead body dishonoured and mutilated.

"The murders of Ali and Hussein mark the beginning of the Shiah sect of Islam, which eventually became the official religion of Persia and is to-day the religion of the majority of Iraqi Moslems. This sect maintains that the prophet's wish was that the caliphate should be kept in the family, and that the first three caliphs who preceded Ali were therefore usurpers. Ali and Hussein are regarded as holy martyrs to a sacred cause. Later was evolved the doctrine of the Imamate, according to which a special supernatural character was inherited by the caliphs of Ali's line. This line persisted in twelve caliphs or Holy Imams, the last, the Mahdi, having

'disappeared' at a tender age. Such a doctrine of divine right converts the slaughter at Kerbela into a most horrible blasphemy and sacrilege, the slaying indeed of the anointed of Allah. It is as an act of mourning and lamentation for so terrible a deed that the Shiahs of Iraq and Persia stage these annual series of dramatic processions.

"Watch the tense, emaciated forms of the back-scourgers. Listen to the hoarse cries and savage barks of the breast-beaters. Note the sunken, gleaming, fanatical eye. Hear the shrill wailing of the women. What is really in their minds? What really keeps alive and powerful this memory of Hussein? Is it mere political resentment that has lived on during these twelve intervening centuries? Is it mere confessional rivalry which prompts this display of grief? Or is it something much deeper, a discovery by these Shiahs that in some dimly-conceived way religion and suffering and failure go somehow hand in hand? It would be interesting to know but impossible to discover." CORR.

"SIR—In his article on the Muharram your correspondent asks what it is that keeps alive the memory of the martyred Husain. Apart from theological fury there seem to be two main causes. First, the whole idea of the celebration is wrapped up with Persian nationalism. The Shiah Passion Play, an Oriental Oberammergau, based on the battle of Kerbela, recalls the wrongs which Persia suffered at the hands of Arab Sunnis. Persians, like Irishmen, remember certain bits of history too well. Frenzy possesses them as they see the holy fugitives tormented, or hear the severed head of Husain quoting the Quran and making the Christian abbot a Musalman.

"A second and deeper reason is hinted by Matthew Arnold (of all people) in the first volume of his *Essays in Criticism*. He writes:—

"So salutary, so necessary is what Christianity contains, that a religion—a great, powerful, successful religion—arises without it, and the missing virtue forces its way in. Christianity may say to these Persian Muhammadans, with their gaze fondly turned towards the martyred Imams, what in our Bible God says by Isaiah to Cyrus, their great ancestor: 'I girded thee, though thou hast not known Me.' It is a long way from Kerbela to Calvary; but the sufferers of Kerbela hold aloft to the eyes of millions of our race the lesson so loved by the Sufferer of Calvary."

E. J. BOLUS.

Monk Sherborne Rectory, Basingstoke.

Islam and Economic Problems

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, one of the delegates to the Indian Round Table Conference and a member of the Joint Select Committee, writes in the *Asiatic Review* on the "Contribution of Islam to the Solution of Economic and World Problems." We quote four paragraphs:

"I think it is quite clear, even at a cursory glance, that the contribution of Islam to world economic problems must be mostly indirect, or, where it is direct, can be of only secondary importance. For consider the economic position of the various Islamic countries.

To begin with, none of them is in the first rank of the world's economic Powers. Most of them, indeed, are not autonomous countries, and form parts, or even mere appendages, of one or other of the great European Powers.

Further, a survey of their natural resources, as far as they are at present known, shows them to be, on the whole, the step-children of nature. Some of them—as, for example, those which occupy great portions of Northern and North-Central and North-Western Africa —fall quite definitely within the class of countries deficient therein and, consequently, with but meagre prospects of any considerable economic development. The chief Muslim country, Turkey, is certainly not distinguished for her natural resources, or for her potential economic development. Indeed, when we have mentioned the oil of Persia and Iraq, and the rubber and tin of Malaya, we have almost exhausted the catalogue of commodities in regard to which Islamic countries play an important part in international commerce. After these, apart from somewhat minor examples, like Northern Nigeria with its tin, and the as yet unrealized possibilities of mineral and agricultural development in certain of the French Muslim colonies in Africa, we are left with a number of countries still in the subsistence phase of economic development.

The sheer lack of known resources is, therefore, one sufficient reason for the economic backwardness of Muslim countries. But there is another general reason, one which is of the very essence of Islam itself, and of the Muslim attitude towards economic affairs. This reason is to be found in that characteristic doctrine of Islam which prohibits the practice of usury by pious Muslims. You will readily understand how such a doctrine, faithfully adhered to, as it has been, has acted as a brake on the progress of Muslim countries. Finance, with its necessary feature of an economic rate of interest, is the life-blood of all economic activities, and the flow of this vital stream has, all the time, been blocked, as far as Muslims themselves are concerned, by their religion . . . . .

Further, the history of Islam, even today, has been and is one of ceaseless expansion, either by means of the sword or through the milder means of conversion. In a word, the preoccupation of Muslim kings and chiefs has been not material development, but the safeguarding and the spread of their religion. An Omar, or a Salah-ud-Din, did not concern himself with the establishment of trade routes and the foundation of great emporia. He was concerned rather to spread the faith, or to defend it, against the onslaughts of those who would restrict or destroy it."

Ramadan in Persia

In Persia, as in other countries, modern conditions and the general trend of irreligion conflict with the observance of Ramadan. Two items from the Persian press in Teheran are suggestive:

Ettelaat writes: "Usually the Fasting Month is the gambling month in Persia. Many families become poor by losing everything they have. Many young men as a result of gambling commit suicide. Many people ruin their health gambling all night and do not attend to their work in the day. But this year it is going to be different.

"Thanks to our Government we have new regulations this year, quite different from last year. In former years all the Ministries and schools were closed in the mornings. This gave the gamblers a chance to sleep and rest a little. But this year the program is not changed very much from the usual time. People have to go to work at nine o'clock in the morning. So they can't stay awake all night. This new program for the fasting month is a very wise plan by the Government and is a great blow to the gamblers."

In the same connection *Azadegan* says: "We can group the Persians into three groups in this month of fasting. The first group consists of those who really fast and go every day to mosques for prayer. The second group consists of those who do not fast, but pretend to fast and eat their lunches where people won't see them. The third group includes those who do not fast and don't care what others may say.

"But there is one point in common for all the three groups, namely, that all of them start playing cards, gambling, drinking wine, etc., as soon as the evening gun is fired."

A new Dutch Translation of the Koran

It is a curious fact that the Ahmadiyah sect are eager to re-translate the Koran into European languages, although it has already appeared in many versions long before Moslems began to translate it into Western tongues. The earliest Dutch translation of the Koran is by J. H. Glasemaker, printed at Leyden in 1734. There have been other translations, but the latest is referred to in the Lahore magazine, *The Light,* as follows:

"Mirza Wali Ahmad Beg., Muslim Missionary to Java, (Dutch East Indies) writes that the publication of the Dutch Translation of the Holy Quran, which was delayed for a long time owing to lack of funds, is now going to see the light of day. A rich landlord, who was formerly a theosophist, after studying the Dutch Translation of the Teachings of Islam, became a staunch member of our mission and has promised to defray the printing charges of the Holy Quran to a great extent. For this purpose a Central Committee has been formed in the capital of Java with branches all over Indonesia. The printing work has been entrusted to a Dutch printing firm, to make the printing as beautiful as possible. This Dutch translation of the Holy Quran has been done from the short edition of the English Translation of the Holy Quran by Maulana Muhammad Ali Sahib. The Dutch Translation will have its Arabic text side by side with the Dutch rendering. The whole book will be ready, Insha Allah, by April, 1934."

Bernard Shaw on Islam

Moslems have been quoting enthusiastically a reference to Mohammedanism in one of Bernard Shaw's plays. A letter on the subject appeared in *Epiphany,* Calcutta, which will interest our readers. The passage referred to was commented on in the Moslem press as follows:

"A man like Bernard Shaw has had to prophesy that within a

hundred years, Europe in general and England in particular, will embrace Islam.

"The Ahmadiyahs have lately given prominence to some words spoken by a character in Bernard Shaw's play, *Getting Married*. The character, Hotchkiss, says that he prefers Mahomedanism and believes that 'the whole British Empire will adopt a reformed Mahomedanism before the end of the century.' The words have been hailed as a solemn prophecy by Bernard Shaw that Mahomedanism is the religion of the future.

"But a little further investigation reveals:—

1. *The subject of the play is not religion but marriage,* and its apparent object is to advocate easy divorce; see the Introduction. Thus Mahomedanism is mentioned by name on four other occasions in the book, always in direct allusion to marriage customs, and *three times simply stating that Mahomedanism allows a man four wives.*

Even in this paragraph which Moslems quote, there is a sentence (which they omit) expressly connecting Mahomedanism with polygamy. Thus *the very most that the passage could be made to prove is that Bernard Shaw prefers Mahomedan marriage-laws,* viz., a limited polygamy.

2. But secondly, what sort of man is this Hotchkiss into whose mouth the words are put? Listen. He has already seduced one young married woman and persuaded her to divorce her husband; he now develops a passion for a coal merchant's wife and tries similarly to seduce her. He has been sent back in disgrace from the Boer War for refusing to obey an order to attack; he is called by the other characters 'a mushroom-faced serpent,' 'one of those poor petticoat-hunting creatures that any woman can pick up,' 'a low bully' and a 'bounding snob.'

"This is the man whom Bernard Shaw selects to champion Islam!

3. In the very same scene, the following words are put into the mouth of Soames, an Anglican priest: *'There is only one religion for me: that which my soul knows to be true . . . I am a Christian.'* In view of Bernard Shaw's other writings and a recent statement of his in the papers, there is no doubt which is closer to his real conviction.

"Clearly the use which Ahmadiyahs have made of the passage is a most mischievous distortion of the truth."

A Colporteur in Paris

Paris has within her wonderful self a Moslem city. Her North African inhabitants, and especially the Moors, like to group themselves in the various quarters of Paris according to their home tribes and villages, though there is also a good deal of inter-marriage with French women. Among these North Africans Mr. and Mrs. Warren do a great work that makes full use of literature. They issue a quarterly paper which they post to Kabyle soldiers and other North Africans in France. Their colporteur missionary, M. Hocart, who knows the haunts of these people, tells of many who say, "We have left all religion in Africa," or "I have heard Europeans say that there is no God." Others he describes as

laughing for joy like children when a Gospel is read aloud in their own Moorish Arabic.

"A Moor who keeps a wholesale store of North African products, made a sign to me to approach. He wanted a booklet on prayer in Arabic (*Do you Pray?* by Dr. Zwemer). After reading bits here and there, he said, 'That's good; it's instructive.' He bought thirty copies of it to re-sell to his customers."

New Books in Malay

Dr. Shellabear is heartily to be congratulated because the final section of his *Verses on the Loving Prophet* have now been printed in romanised Malay, for use in the Dutch East Indies. The printing of these verses in Malay in the Arabic character, for the Malays on the Peninsula and East Sumatra, was completed in 1933, so he has now given a complete Life of Christ in verse to the Malay world. Missionaries write that these verses sell better in Sumatra than all their other books together.

We are delighted to hear that, instead of resting on his oars, Dr. Shellabear is going on to *Verses on the Kingdom of God*, and of these verses five parts, of from forty to fifty pages each, have been printed at Singapore this year. He feels his facility in writing verses is increasing as he goes along. He remarks, "This subject of the Kingdom of Heaven has always been a great difficulty to the Malays, so I think they will be eager to hear what the verses have to say about it."

Among half-a-dozen literary works in Malay to which Dr. Shellabear is giving his time, is the very important one of a new edition of Pilgrim's Progress. He says, "There are already *three* Malay editions, the one in Arabic character has been out of print for fifty years! A Dutch-romanised edition, printed perhaps forty years ago, was probably based on that. And in 1905 I made a translation in Baba Malay for the Chinese. Copies of the original edition are now hard to get, but happily I have them all three."

Khaliqa not Khalifa

It was very flattering to see that my article, entitled *Khalīfa* or *Khalīqa*, in the April number of THE MOSLEM WORLD, had attracted the attention of such a celebrated scholar as Professor Alfred Guillaume. One or two remarks occur to me on reading his criticism. In the first place, while he is correct in saying that the word *Khalīqa* is not found in the Koran at all, it must not be forgotten, however, that the root *Khlq* occurs in the Koran in various forms not only several times but as many as two hundred and thirty times. I see no reason, therefore, why on stylistic grounds it is dangerous to suggest that Mohammed may have employed *Khalīqa* in his vocabulary.

In the second place, the context of Sūrah ii:28 may have been "lifted bodily from the Jewish *Haggada*." In all likelihood it was. Passages similar to *Mid. Rab.* on Numbers xix:2, which Professor Guillaume cites, occur in several places in the *Midrash*. I have no intention of questioning these connexions. But while it is very interesting to determine such "origins," it hardly has any bearing on the point I suggested. It does not really matter whether the angels

demurred because of the wickedness that man will do or because he was to be superior to them. As a matter of fact no reasons are given. In the passage referred to by Professor Guillaume the grumbling angels say, "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" The main point is that God was contemplating the creation of man and at this the angels demurred. They could see no reason for the creation of man when they were fulfilling the purpose and the duty to which they (as well as man) were created, namely, to glorify God and praise him forever.

Furthermore, just as Mohammed could not speak of Adam as created in the image of God, likewise he could hardly speak of him as the *successor* of God, for this is what *Khalīfa* really means. The meaning *representative* is of a later development and is not of good standing. In the case of Sūrah xxxviii:25 where *Khalīfa* is applied to David, was not "the fair singer of Israel" the successor of a long line of rulers in the ancient theocracy and of Saul, the first king of the Monarchy?

That such errors of orthography are possible even in the Koran, has been definitely proven by a tenth century manuscript. In my article *Khalīfa* or *Khalīqa,* I suggested variant readings for Sūrahs xii:12 and xci:10. For Sūrah xii:12 the suggestion was that *narta' wa-yal'ab* should be read for *yarta' wa-yal'ab*. Since then, in fact a month after that date, we came across a fragmentary manuscript of the Koran belonging to the Robert Garret collection of Oriental manuscripts which is now deposited in the Princeton University Library and is being catalogued under the supervision of Professor Phillip K. Hitti of the Oriental Department. The fragment consists of four folios, 28.3 x 18 cm. in size, with a written surface of 24.5 x 15 cm., and 22 lines to a page. It is written in kūfi on bombyce paper, with diacritical marks and vowel signs. It contains Sūrahs xi:109—xii:77 (in part). On being collated with the text of the Koran it was both surprising and gratifying to discover that the fragment gave in Sūrah xii:12 *narta' wa-nal'ab* instead of *yarta' wa-yal'ab*.

In view of all that, I still feel that there is sufficient ground for reading in Sūrah ii:28, *Khalīqa* instead of *Khalīfa*.

The Graduate College,
Princeton, N. J. Nabīh Amīn Farīs.

Another Note on Khalifa

There is just another item to be added to the discussion on this point. Nabih Eff. Faris' suggestion to read *Khalīqa* instead of *Khalīfa* in Sūra ii:28 is nothing new. It is a very well-known variant reading given on the authority of Zaid b. 'Alī. Zamakhsharī notes it, and it is also given by Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, i:252, Abū Ḥayyān, i:140, Alūsī, i:203, Qurṭubī, i:225, and in the manuscript of al-'Ukbarī's *Shawādhdh* (Mingana, 1649) fol. 29, it is attributed also to Abū Rajā'.

There is not the slightest doubt that the original reading was *khalīfa,* and Prof. Guillaume is correct in his derivation of the story from a Jewish haggadic source. As is so often the case with the readings of Zaid b. 'Alī, this is a clear instance of an endeavour to escape a difficulty in the *textus receptus.* Arthur Jeffery.

BOOK REVIEWS

Arabia and the Bible. By James A. Montgomery. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934. pp. 207. $2.

This book, which should be read by every Biblical and Arabic student, contains the substance of the Haskell Lectures which the author delivered at Oberlin College in 1930. The volume surveys the relations between Biblical history and Arabia. It justly claims that the emphasis on Palestine's dependence on the Babylonian, Egyptian, Aegean and Hittite civilizations has tended to obscure the influence of Arabia, the borderland on the east and south of Palestine, on Israel's land, history and religion. The author quotes Winckler, Nielsen and Macdonald in support of his thesis of the kinship of Hebrew and Arab.

Arabia, the hinterland, is prominent in the pages of the Old Testament. The legendary features of the Garden of Eden "presuppose the scenery of a desert oasis." The patriarchs were nomads, and the features of their life as such are accurately described. Dr. Montgomery discusses several genealogies in Genesis which report the affiliations of the Hebrews with Arabian groups. He cites in particular Gen. 10:21 ff., the descendants of Shem; Gen. 25, the descendants of Abraham by his concubines; Genesis 36, the genealogies of Esau-Edom-Seir and the Horites in that land; and the passages which record the relations of the Abrahamic Hebrews with the Aramaeans. Deborah and Jephthah were Arab types. The Old Testament pictures various peoples, such as the Amorites, Hebrews, Aramaeans, Ishmaelites and Midianites, coming out of the desert, and refreshing and replenishing the population of Palestine. "The Jacob tradition presents the racial relations of Israel with the deserts of North Arabia, even as the Exodus story relates Israel's history with the land of Midian and southerly Arabia." For Amos, Hosea and Jeremiah, the desert period under the leadership of Moses was the classic age of Israel's spiritual life.

The author outlines the Biblical usage of the terms "Arab," "Arabian" and "Arabia." The Hebrews connected the name "Arab" with the word *'arābhāh*. In the Old Testament the name is a collective noun meaning the Arab people, not the geographic entity Arabia. An individual Arab appears for the first time in the person of "Geshem the Arab" (Neh. 2:19).

The volume contains an excellent description of the Arabian Peninsula, and some authoritative suggestions of its spiritual resources. "From Arabian lands came Yahweh, from the desert of Sinai according to one tradition, according to another from Seir and Edom, from Teman and Paran, from Cushan and Midian, i. e., the mountains and *harras* of northwest Arabia." There is a

depiction of beautiful, fertile Yemen and its ancient civilization. South Arabia, along with Babylonia and Egypt, was a third center of culture in the Semitic world. In Bible times commercial routes ran north from Yemen to Babylon, Gaza and Egypt, and Damascus. Dr. Montgomery traces various relations between Israel and South Arabia. There are common elements, such as "god," "father," "uncle," in proper names in the records of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the Bible, and the inscriptions of South Arabia. The South-Arabic *il* (Babylonian *ilu*) and *ilāh* appear as *el* and *elōhīm* in Hebrew. The word *ilāh* gave Mohammad his Allah. A number of Hebrew religious terms, such as *qāhāl*, "assembly," have South-Arabic parallels. The book records Israel's trade with Arabia from the reign of Solomon to that of Azariah-Uzziah of Judah, a period of over 200 years.

Dr. Montgomery proves in many ways that an acquaintance with Arabian culture is essential to an understanding of the Bible. The book of Job has a characteristic Arab flavor. The references to Arabic and the Arabs in the Apocryphal books pertain chiefly to the Nabataeans. Paul escaped from the Nabataean government of Damascus (2 Cor. 11:32f.). Elijah retired to the desert for a significant spiritual experience. John the Baptist, Jesus and Paul, reverting to type, did likewise.

The volume emphasizes the permanence of the Arabian civilization. The Semitic lands, despite many Indo-European invasions, have remained Semitic, "with an Arabic-speaking population, with a specifically Arabian religion as the dominant faith." Moreover, ancient Egypt and Babylon have disappeared, but the Arabian Desert still borders and influences Palestine. Although the rise of Islam lies beyond the author's purpose, he briefly compares the growth of the Mosaic religion with that of its later compeer. He points out that both movements arose within an Arab population, and concludes with the observation that our Western religions came "not from the wisdom of the Egyptian, Babylonian and Greek civilizations, but out of Arabia." The book is enhanced by an attractive map of Arabia, and indices of Bible references and subject matter.

Bristol, Conn. FRANCIS T. COOKE.

Semitic and Hamitic Origins—Social and Religious. By George Aaron Barton, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934. pp. xvi + 395 + an appendix of Semitic and Hamitic grammatical forms. $4.

All Semitists and students of the History of Religions will welcome this new book from the pen of this versatile and indefatigable scholar. This work represents the results of a lifetime of research in philology, history, archaeology, geography, anthropology, and the science of religions. Thirty-two years ago he published *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious.* Now, as he admits in the Preface, he has abandoned most of the important theories which he advocated in the former book. With his change of view, however, he modestly states that many of the theories in the present volume are of a tentative character. He hopes that, if not all the problems have been brought into the light, he has at least set them into the penumbra, so that future workers can continue the

investigations and "carry the torch of knowledge with more powerful rays into regions where he is still compelled to grope."

Dr. Barton has assembled materials from a great diversity of sources; he picks out what is germane to his subject, and with brilliant imagination, clarity of thought, and reasons based on the evidence produced, he arrives at his conclusions. He realizes that not all will agree with his opinions; yet he sets forth his views with candor and lets the reader judge for himself.

In the first chapter is found an excellent résumé of the theories of the origin of the Semites and the Hamites. On page 8 Dr. Barton says: "Of the truth of the theory of the African origin and Arabian cradle-land of the Semites, the present writer has been fully persuaded for many years." He maintains that all our evidence tends to show that the Hamitic race developed in North Africa, including perhaps the Sahara, during the millennia after the last Glacial Epoch; from this region they wandered to the Nile Valley, the horn of East Africa, and other regions. It appears that the Hamitic languages are philologically older than those of the Semitic group. Long before the beginnings of Egyptian history the Hamites migrated by way of Bab-el-Mandeb into Arabia. South Arabia, accordingly, is the probable cradle-land of the Semites; this includes both the Northern and the Southern Semites. The discussion of the two groups of languages shows a definite linguistic relationship. Since both groups have triliteral and biliteral roots, it is not improbable that in primitive Hamito-Semitic the two types of roots existed side by side from the beginning. Not content with the linguistic arguments alone, however, Dr. Barton also cites the evidence of craniology to show the relations between the Semites and the Hamites.

In Chapter II we find a concise, but valuable summary of the history of the Elamites, Sumerians, Hurri and Mitanni, and the Hittites. He regards Oman as the most probable home of the Sumerians.

In this work, the author no longer follows W. Robertson Smith in the theory that the Semites passed through a totemistic development. He finds, however, that the Hamites were totemistic, but is of the firm opinion that the view that totemism extended to that offshoot which became Semites must be abandoned.

According to Dr. Barton, the beginnings of the Semitic religion, as they were conceived by the Semites themselves, go back to the sexual relationship. Various records show that a good deal of sexual laxity prevailed in certain Semitic festivals during historic times. In his *Semitic Origins* such customs were considered as a survival from a primitive polyandry. Now he believes that they were products of a kind of sympathetic magic, whereby it was believed that the deities of fertility could be induced to perform the life-giving acts on which economic prosperity depended. Whatever cases of fraternal polyandry there were, he is now convinced that that type of marriage was due to local causes and had comparatively little influence on religion. The idea of sympathetic magic, as the writer shows by example, was also found among the Sumerians. In view of this theory, he considers Yahweh as originally a god of life and fertility; he derives the name from the causative form of

the root HWY, meaning therefore, "He who causes to love passionately."

Formerly Dr. Barton believed that with the change from a matriarchal to a patriarchal organization, many Semitic gods arose by changing the sex of a mother-goddess. We find such transformations of a goddess into a god, but now the writer seeks a different reason for the metamorphosis.

The value of the book for the student of the history of religions is indicated by the titles of Chapters iv-ix: Early Semitic and Hamitic Social Life, Religious Origins, Egyptian Religious Origins, South Semitic Religious Origins, Babylonian Religious Origins, West Semitic Religious Origins.

In the tenth chapter, the writer maintains that the work of Wellhausen, Kuenen, W. Robertson Smith, and Stade in its main outlines still stands. On page 333 we read: "No origin for Yahweh has ever been proposed that has in its favor a tithe of the reasons in its support that the Midianite-Kenite theory has." He believes that Moses became acquainted with Yahweh and was converted to his worship in the land of Midian. In this chapter the student will find an excellent summary of the Old Testament religion from the point of view of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule.*

It is unfortunate that the work has a number of misprints; most of them, however, are not of serious consequence, but the following should be noted: p. 134, lines 8 and 10 *Qatabanian* is written with *V* for *Q;* p. 297, line 7, *father-in-law* should be *father;* on page 345, line 4 we meet *an anaerolite* for *an aerolite.*

The book is, as the title states, a work on *Origins.* Guided by the definite records of antiquity and customs existing down to our own day, the author has his eyes fixed continually upon prehistoric times and searches for more facts and interpretations in Semitic religions. He is, as it were, blazing a path through a misty forest that lies on the border between the lands of darkness and the regions of light.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

The Living Religions of the Indian People. (Wilde Lectures, Oxford, 1932-34). By Nicol Macnicol, M.A., D.Litt., D.D. Student Christian Movement Press, London. pp. 323. 10/6 net.

This book contains, in somewhat enlarged form, the Wilde Lectures given at Oxford by this distinguished scholar, who is one of the foremost living authorities on Indian religion. The reason for the title is explained by the author: "No one indeed can ever say of any religion that it is quite dead, unless he is able to search all the hearts that profess it, and certainly one who comes from outside to study the currents of religious life in India has no right to differentiate the living elements from the dead in the faiths of a land so vast, a land that encloses within the hearts of its millions so immense a variety of needs. We can see quite plainly that certain religions are living religions in that land, that they control the spiritual movements, and are bound up with the spiritual cravings, of multitudes. How far that control guides towards the noblest living or these relationships accord with ultimate reality is quite another matter. Whatever our view of these things may be,

we can certainly affirm that there are religions in India that are alive because they are active within living and desiring hearts."

The religions dealt with are Hinduism, Indian Islam, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, and Indian Christianity. We regret that the last named faith is not put in a class by itself. It surely has life of a different sort at its core, and even by the returns of the census its vitality is unique. In the introductory chapter, indeed, the admission is made regarding Buddhism in China that there it is for the most part moribund. The style of the writer is superb, his scholarship unquestioned and his attitude toward other faiths full of sympathy.

Two short chapters (pp. 131-167) deal with Indian Islam and lean heavily on the work of M. T. Titus. We have a sketch of its early history and characteristic development, together with its later conflict and compromise with Hindu philosophy. "The story of Islam in India is the story of an austere and rigid faith, exposed constantly to the subtle infection of the Hinduism which surrounds it on every side. Its defences are not always strong enough against these invasive influences, and when now to them are added the destructive forces of Western science and Western culture it seems inevitable that Indian Islam shall have to submit to radical transformation." The religious values of Islam today are in our opinion over-estimated. Neither in the pantheistic rationalism of Mohammed Iqbal nor in the present propaganda of the Ahmadiya groups is there hope to stay the tide of youth from orthodoxy to agnosticism and secularism. The influences of Christ and His gospel have been "at work among the educated Hindus, and, to a certain extent, among Muslims as well. The standard by which life's values are measured is openly accepted by the most thoughtful as that of Christ. India may learn to ignore Him, but it will only be if India abandons her great tradition as a God-intoxicated people. God still holds India by the roots of her being, and therefore Christ speaks to her, and His Church has a witness to bear to her." Z.

Lord of Arabia, Ibn Saud. An Intimate Study of a King. By H. C. Armstrong. Arthur Barker, Ltd., London. pp. 306. 9s.

This book is what it purports to be, an intimate study of the most lordly Arab of our day, and perhaps the greatest political figure in the Moslem world. Born in Riad, the capital of Central Arabia, Ibn Saud was forced as a child to fly with his father and take refuge with the savage tribes of the Great South Desert. He grew up a penniless refugee in a small cosmopolitan port, Kuwait. When he was twenty-one, with six comrades he raided Riad and captured the Fort, called on the people to help him, took the town and, against immense odds, held it. For twenty years he fought continuously up and down the country against the Turks, against rivals, attempts at murder, and internal treachery, until he had forced the tribes to accept him as master and had conquered all Central Arabia. Then he extended his influence to the Persian Gulf, and to the Red Sea, even capturing the Sacred City of Mecca and all the Sacred Land of Hejaz.

The author of "Grey Wolf" did not find in writing this biography, as was the case with Mustapha Kemal, much documentary evidence.

Arabia is not like Turkey. His principal authorities were St. John Philby and Ameen Rihani. The rest of the story was gathered by word of mouth. The author's style is vivid, and he carries the reader along in his heroic narrative, which at times is too partisan. There is more to be said for King Hussein after his defeat and the massacre at Taif by the Wahhabi fanatics than that having filled his boxes with gold-pieces, "When all was ready he sailed away, first to Akaba and then to the island of Cyprus, to the end a pig-headed, irascible, preposterous old man, yet clean living and devout, without fear and also without common sense."

The story is well told, but breaks off in the middle. Ibn Saud is today "Lord of Arabia, ruling by the force of his personality and the strength of his own right arm. An immense man, tremendous, vital, dominant. A giant thrown up out of the chaos and agony of the Desert—to rule. The Desert, vast and brutal, demands extreme severity: a hand or foot lopped off for theft: a clan decimated for raiding: a head struck off for major crimes, quickly and without formality. Royal, majestic, and unperturbed Ibn Saud rules the Desert with justice and exemplary punishment. He has branded his will on the unruly people of his vast Empire." Z.

Lights of Asia. By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. Arthur Barker, Ltd., London. pp. 264; 12/6 net.

The author of this book is a prolific writer. In recent years no less than twelve books have appeared from his pen, some of which have been reviewed in our Quarterly. The present volume is remarkable as a contribution to the comparative study of religion by a Moslem, who states that although he "does not subscribe to the doctrines of other religions, he is at pains to give them a vigorous and almost passionate exposition." The four religions selected for special study are Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and Buddhism. The chapter on Judaism is nearly twice as long as any of the other chapters. In each case the author first gives a sketch of the religion, its founder, and its general characteristics, followed by extracts from the sacred books. The work is not critical, nor does it give evidence of wide reading by careful documentation. It shows each of the four Asiatic faiths at their best. The chapter on Christianity, moreover, is an astonishing tribute to the divine authority of the Bible, the person of Jesus Christ, and the fact of His death and resurrection. Where the writer speaks of the "Immaculate Conception" he means the Virgin Birth. In the chapter on Islam, which is apologetic, there are many inaccuracies. Z.

Jesus the Unknown. By Dmitri Merejkowski. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1934. pp. 445. $2.75.

One could wish that this remarkable book by a great Russian writer were made available in abbreviated form for Moslems who read Arabic, Turkish and Persian. What the author says of the New Testament in his introductory chapter is in a measure true of his own interpretation of the life of our Lord: "It is a strange book: you cannot read it exhaustively. No matter how often you read it, it always seems that you have not quite read to the end,

or that you have forgotten, or have failed to understand, something; you re-read—and the same thing happens again and again, times without number. It is like the night sky: the longer you gaze at it, the greater is the multitude of the stars."

The writer is a man of one book, the Gospel, which he has read and re-read until he has absorbed its contents. "I read it daily, and shall continue to read it so long as my eyes can see, and by every kind of light, by rays coming from the sun or from the heart, on brightest days and in blackest nights, happy or unhappy, sick or well, full of faith or of doubt, full of feeling or devoid of feeling." The volume before us is the first part, and deals with the sources for the life of Jesus and the silent years. A second book is to follow, on the years of his ministry, his death and resurrection. In the first part we have new evidence for the authenticity and historicity of the gospel record. "Paul's testimony is such that before it could be possible for one to say 'there was no Christ,' it would be necessary to say 'there was no Paul,' and, in order to do that, to deny the authenticity not only of his epistles but of the entire New Testament, all the writings attributed to apostolic men (A. D. 90-150), the best witnesses, and, finally, all the apologists of the second century. In other words, one would have to destroy the whole library of early Christian history."

Nevertheless, we are introduced not only to the synoptics and John but to the apocryphal gospels and the *agrapha*. At times the author seems to be carried away by the pan-Babylonian theory of Jeremias, as in Chapter VII, but he believes in the supernatural and does not minimize the miracles. The pages scintillate with gems of thought. "To him who opens the Gospel, all other books are closed; he who begins to think of it, can think of nothing else. He will lose nothing thereby, for all thought emanates from it and returns to it. After its salt, all else is savourless. All human tragedies are dull after this 'Divine Comedy.' And if our earth has immeasurable depths in spite of its superficiality, it is only because He lived." Z.

Priestertalen: een ethnologische Studie. By Dr. H. Th. Fischer. J. B. Wolters, Groningen, Den Haag, Batavia, 1934. pp. 83. Fl. 1.25.

This book is of special importance for missionaries who are working among primitive peoples who are becoming Mohammedans. It makes it clear why such people do not object to their own mother-tongue being displaced by the Arabic language, though the Arabic may be quite unintelligible to them. As they comprehend nothing of the empty formalities which they or those who lead them in prayer utter, they are not edified by all this verbosity, but they are being familiarized with an unintelligible, secret and sacred language, which is not used for secular purposes. In necromancy (Shamanism) this is the language used by the spirit which speaks through the possessed person, and also by the priest or magician who calls up such a spirit. All the problems connected with this peculiar feature are carefully examined in this publication—Is this secret language acquired laboriously, or does it come suddenly to the speaker in ecstasy in some inexplicable way? What induces the priest to use this secret language? Is some mysterious efficacy attributed to it

by the hearers? In many cases people seem to believe that they are only able to approach the deity by means of this sacred language, for this is the language of heaven, which is used in the Koran by the God of the Moslems, and which only the Mohammedan teacher is able to interpret. This makes it clear why Arabic charms are so highly prized even by those who have not yet become Mohammedans. There are many things in this book which throw light upon the success of Moslem propaganda among primitive races.

GOTTFRIED SIMON.

Al-Riḥlah al-Dāntīyah fi al-Mamālik al-Ilāhīyah. By 'Abbād abu-Rāshid. Tripoli, Africa. 3 vols. 1930-1933. pp. 304 + 292 + 304.

While several poetical works have in recent years been translated from French and English into Arabic, none before this has been done from Italian, and that in spite of the fact that Dante has found translators in almost all of the major living tongues. A great deal of interest has in the last few years been aroused in the great Italian poet because of his alleged indebtedness to Moslem Arabic sources. The translator is a Lebanese, who taught Italian in Beirūt for several years before emigrating to Tripoli, Africa. The translation has been well received in Italian circles, both civil and religious, and King Emmanuel decorated its producer. The translation is in elegant prose, not literal, but nevertheless honest, and bears ample notes and comments. Each canto is introduced with an explanatory preface. The first line of canto 7: "Papè satan. Papè satan. Aleppe." which is clearly not Italian and has exercised Dantists throughout the ages, abu-Rāshid, following in part an earlier suggestion, makes Arabic: "Bāb al-shayṭān. Bāb al-shayṭān. Ahlibu," (The door of satan. The door of satan. Proceed downward). The verse in which Mohammed is consigned to the lower regions of hell has been deleted, a wise procedure in view of the adoption of the work by the educational authorities of Tripoli for use in schools.

PHILIP K. HITTI.

Abu Nuwās in Life and in Legend. By W. H. Ingrams. Luzac and Co., London, 1933. pp. viii + 95.

This privately printed booklet contains several poems by the witty and licentious poet of the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, done into English not only by the author, but by R. A. Nicholson, Richard Burton and others. The legends come mainly from Morocco and other parts of Africa. But how one who knows enough Arabic to translate its poetry can spell the first name of abu-Nuwās "Hal-Asan" (p. 1) and his father's name "Hani'al" (p. 1) is a mystery which the reviewer has not been able to solve.

Princeton University PHILIP K. HITTI.

Thinking Missions with Christ. By Samuel M. Zwemer. Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Michigan. pp. 140. $1.50.

This young publishing house, located in the midst of the sturdy Dutch folk and their descendants in Michigan, is rendering a real service in giving to the public, volume after volume ringing true to the faith once for all delivered to the saints. It has rendered such service in adding to its rapidly growing list of publications, this

goodly volume of addresses by the Professor of Missions in Princeton Theological Seminary.

The conservative missionary element in the church has not forgotten the challenge given it by the report of the Laymen's Missionary Appraisal Commission in its volume "Re-thinking Missions," and this volume of addresses indicates that the position of that group is not to remain unanswered by those who have devoted their lives to the whole-hearted propagation of the Gospel.

"Thinking Missions with Christ," whose subtitle is "Some Basic Aspects of World Evangelism, Our Message, Our Motive, and Our Goal," girds itself for a truly thoughtful consideration of the subject, and the two opening addresses on "The Duty of Conclusive Thinking" and "Against Thinking in Gray" are especially provocative of the duty of clear and strong thinking in the realm of religion, only demanding that Christian thinking must be brought into captivity to Him about whom it centres.

These chapters are a real challenge to gird up the loins of the mind, and will quicken the taste of the reader for what is to follow. Subsequent chapters show that one is not asked to follow an easy path. "Stockholders or Ambassadors," "The Power of the Keys," "Putting First Things First," "The Supreme Motive," "Guidance," all show an intimate acquaintance with what is being written along these lines, and bring to the Christian public the assurance that half-considered or unconsidered attacks on the central and fundamental positions of the Gospel are not to be allowed to pass unanswered, and that our oldest Presbyterian Theological Seminary is not wavering in its loyalty to the faith of the Fathers, but still is blessed with men of clear thought and ready pen on the great issues of Christianity.

CHARLES HERRON.

Sultans de Touggourt. By Magali-Boisnard, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1933. pp. xv + 132. 20 francs.

Touggourt, in the Sahara, the seat of a dynasty of petty sultans, fell into the hands of the French in 1854. The book is a romance devoted to this region with its dynasty. A short bibliography of works on North Africa is appended.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster

Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL

Arabic Music. Laura Williams. (In *The Open Court,* Chicago. April, 1934. pp. 77-88).

An effort to show that Arabian music is a clearly defined, old form which has exercised great influence on Western music in the past and is still worth attentive study.

The Country of the Assassins. Freya Stark. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. April, 1934. pp. 277-287).

Describes a mountain district in North Persia, between the Elburz range and the Caspian Sea, whose inhabitants were originally called Hashishin—hashish users—the drug making them careless of life and hence valuable to their leaders in forays.

An Unbeliever Joins the Hadj. Owen Tweedy. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. June, 1934. pp. 761-789).

Intimate picture of a journey from Khartoum to Jidda with Arab pilgrims en route to Mecca.

II. ARABIA

The Menace of Arabia in the Near East. Joseph J. Cooksey. (In *World Dominion,* London. July, 1934. pp. 254-257).

A united Arabia, under such a ruler as Ibn Saud, would give Islam a prestige such as it has not possessed for centuries.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Trois Marocains de l'Ancien Régime. F. Weisgerber. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Paris. Mars, 1934. pp. 159-162; Avril, 1934. pp. 229-231; Mai, 1934. pp. 292-296).

Sketches of three outstanding Mohammedans.

Die Türken in der Klassischen Arabischen Literatur. Ernst Mainz. (In *Der Islam,* Berlin. Bd. 21, Heft 4, 1933. pp. 279-285).

The Turks entered Moslem history as heroes; and Arab authors all acknowledged their warlike prowess, while some praised their good treatment of their subjects; scientists pointed out that their climate accounted for their cold nature and their heavy physique.

IV. KORAN. TRADITIONS. THEOLOGY

Mission Intention for May; Challenge of Star and Crescent. Paul St. John; Mussulman Propaganda in Africa. Most Rev. Paul Molin; Islam. The Rev. C. C. Martindale; The Apostolate in Western Africa. Dom Maternus. (In *Catholic Missions,* New York. May, 1934. pp. 131-140).

Forceful articles showing the spread of Islam and its accompanying dangers.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Economic and Financial Situation in Turkey. S. C. Wyatt. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. April, 1934. pp. 216-236).

Conditions are better than in the days of the Sultan, but world unrest hurts trade and revenue.

Introduction à une Étude de l'Enseignement Arabe en Égypte. Henri Laoust. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. Cahier 3, 1933. pp. 301-351).

Details of schools, programmes, etc.

Religious Liberty in Syria and Palestine. S. A. Morrison. (In the *Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society Quarterly Paper,* Edinburgh. February, 1934. pp. 291-294; May, 1934. pp. 327-328).

Discussion of the toleration secured by the Mandates and the resulting improvement in the legal position of Christian minorities and of converts from Islam.

Women in New Turkey. Lockie Parker. (In *Asia,* New York. June, 1934. pp. 356-361).

The principal fields for women's work outside the home are education, secretarial positions, social welfare, and medicine; while a few pioneers find political positions touching these fields.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Immigration and Labor in Palestine. Sir Andrew McFadyean. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. July, 1934. pp. 682-688).

The international situation in Palestine causes one to reflect

on the duty of the Mandatory Power to endeavor to make economic life in Transjordan so attractive to the Arabs that Palestine will cease to interest them so vitally and will be left more entirely to the Jews.

A Note on Palestine. Hector Bolitho. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. April, 1934. pp. 204-215).

Contrasts the pushing Jew with the lazy, well-bred Arab and warns England to expect no gratitude from either.

A Summary of the History of the Assyrians in Iraq, 1918-1933. Sir Percy Sykes. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,* London. April, 1934. pp. 255-268).

Stresses the moral obligation of the British Government to do its best for the nation which gave gallant service during the World War and supported the British Mandate in Iraq.

Syria and the French Mandate. George Antonius. (In *International Affairs,* London. July-August, 1934. pp. 523-539).

Outlines developments from 1920, the beginning of the French Mandate, to 1933, when the distasteful Franco-Syrian treaty was proposed; includes a comparison of the treaty with the Anglo-Iraq agreement.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

Castles and Highlands of the Middle Atlas. Frederick Morris. (In *World Dominion,* London. July, 1934. pp. 263-268).

Due to the fine engineering of the French, the Moroccan country is accessible as far as Demnat, and since 1932 the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society has been making solid progress at Boujad.

The Church and the Needs of the Muslim Convert. Rev. Seif Habashy. (In *The Thirteenth General Conference of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council.* 1934. pp. 30-38).

The new Christian should be met with social and material service from his fellows and with spiritual help from his pastor.

The Lebanon Hospital for Mental Diseases. Hilda Fox. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. July, 1934. pp. 391-394).

Tells of an institution at Asfuriyeh, near Beirut, which is an example of international co-operation in administration and financing.

THE MUSLIM POINT OF VIEW. Dr. Arthur Jeffery. (In *The Thirteenth General Conference of the Egypt Inter-Mission Council,* 1934. pp. 39-51).

The proselytizing strength of Islam over Christianity lies in its practicability, its simplicity, its brotherliness, and its freedom from the taint of Western imperialism.

THE LIGHTBEARER, *London.* July-August, 1934. Whole number.

Contains thirtieth annual report of the Sudan United Mission and a survey of the missionary occupation of the Sudan.

LA MISSION LAZARISTE EN PERSE. Aristide Châtelet, C. M. (In *Revue d'Histoire des Missions,* Paris. Mars, 1934. pp. 82-108; Juin, 1934. pp. 242-269).

Continuation of a study begun in the Décembre, 1933, number; these issues cover the years 1840-1843, but deal also with earlier missionary successes among the Armenians and the Nestorians.

MISSIONARY WORK AMONGST THE MUSLIMS OF THE EAST INDIES. Laurence E. Browne. (In *The Church Overseas,* London. July, 1934. pp. 195-206).

Statistics show that the gains among the Javanese are outstanding when compared with the successes of missions in other Moslem fields; and this, too, without government aid.

LE SÉMINAIRE SYRO-CHALDÉEN DES PÈRES DOMINICAINS À MOSSOUL (IRAQ). OMEZ. (In *Les Missions Catholiques,* Paris. 16 Avril 1934. pp. 216-217).

A veritable resurrection has occurred in the seminary, ruined by the World War, reopened in 1923, and anticipating its first ordination of priests in 1935.

TEN THOUSAND IN TIN HUTS. (In *World Dominion,* London. July, 1934. pp. 241-243).

Vivid sketch of Tin Town, near Casablanca (Morocco), where the Christian graciousness of one convert gives promise of what the North African Mission hopes to see increase.

THE TWO FACES OF ISLAM. Alfred Nielsen. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. July, 1934. pp. 345-366).

"Islam shows the missionary . . . that Islam is not a plain, simple matter, but a complicated, perhaps double-faced, religion" and that it has its good as well as its bad features.

TYRANNY AND HIDDEN DEATH. James Haldane. (In *World Dominion,* London. July, 1934. pp. 307-311).

Paucity of results should not dampen interest in North African missions, but should rather kindle sympathy for converts struggling against Islam's religious intolerance.